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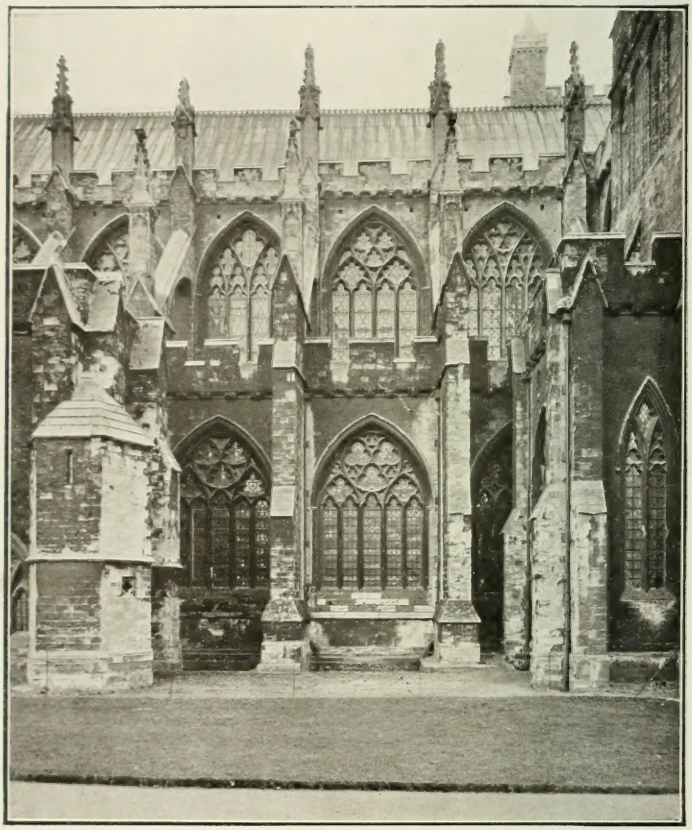

STUDIES OF WINDOW TRACERY
ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE CHOIR

EXETER . . . . CATHEDRAL

B

THE CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND AND WALES

By T. FRANCIS BUMPUS

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SECOND SERIES

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"Circumdate Sion, et complectimini eam: narrate in turribus ejus."
"Ponite corda vestra in virtute ejus: et distribuite domos ejus; ut enarretis in progenie altera."

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It was intended to complete this work in Two Volumes, but as the Author proceeded, he found such limits too confined, without materially impairing its utility and interest. He has, therefore, extended it to a Third Volume, which will close with the recently founded cathedrals of Southwark and Birmingham.

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CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

FROM THE NORTH WEST

THE CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND AND WALES

CHAPTER I

CANTERBURY

CHRISTIAN nations have devoted their best exertions to erect to the honour of God, churches in which His mercies might be invoked and His praises celebrated, through the name, and by the assistance, of His Son, our Saviour and Mediator. In such works of piety, the zeal and spirit of our ancestors has been pre-eminently distinguished. Of their religious feelings, these structures remain a splendid and enduring monument; and if we view them merely as efforts of art, and consider by what works England is most ornamented, there will be no hesitation in declaring that the foremost rank is due its cathedrals, collegiate and parochial

churches. These venerable structures, raised at periods when piety and taste went hand in hand, at once delight the eyes and fill the mind of the beholder with awe and admiration; the minute beauties of the fabrics display ingenuity and elegance of workmanship devoted to their most legitimate object; while the majestic grandeur and awe-inspiring solemnity of their long-drawn aisles present, as far as our weak senses can apprehend, the image of a house fitting for the presence and worship of the Almighty.

Of all our great ecclesiastical edifices there is none, with the exception of Westminster Abbey, that is more linked with the events of English history than the cathedral of Canterbury. It is not merely that it is one of our chief works of art, and of which we may be justly proud, but it has been the scene of important episodes, and it stands as a memorial of one of the most momentous of them in our annals. For many generations it was regarded as hallowed, and when we consider how opinions change, it might be possible for it to be regarded so again.

Lying as the city does on the most travelled route from Dover to London, we must surely take a pride in the reflection that foreigners are enabled to derive their first impressions of an English minster from Canterbury, which, with its long-drawn nave and choir, its double transepts and its graceful trinity of towers, so peaceful, so home-like, and so thoroughly English, dominates this most delightful of cathedral cities—the cradle, so to speak, of our Christianity since its reintroduction

by Augustine into South-east Anglia after its long period of banishment.

The writings of Eadmer and Gervase, aided by the indefatigable researches and vast architectural knowledge of Professor Willis, enable us to form a remarkably vivid impression of the several predecessors of the present magnificent structure, and of the manner in which it has come down to us in the form with which we, and other English-speaking people throughout the world, are so familiar.

On his arrival in Canterbury in 597, St Augustine found one ancient church—that of St Martin, for Bertha, the Queen of Ethelbert, was a Christian—and another one in ruins, destined to become the venerable mother-church of every one in England, and the seat of the metropolitan archbishops of Canterbury. This church, as reconstructed by Augustine, fresh from Rome with its basilicas, would naturally present similar features, and accordingly, we find from the account left to us by Eadmer, that it was a basilica of the simplest form, with, however, one or two unusual features. It had an apse at either end, the eastern one containing the high altar, and the western one that of the Blessed Virgin. There were also two towers—one dedicated to St Gregory on the south side, through which was an entrance into the church, and another on the north bearing the name of St Martin. These towers were about in the centre of each side. Augustine's church still further carried out the basilican tradition in possessing a crypt beneath the eastern altar, while behind the altar in the

western apse, was the patriarchal chair, so that the officiant at the Mary altar faced the congregation. Of course, when the celebration took place at the other altar in the eastern apse, the positions were reversed, a change which has since become universal, and which very probably dates from this proto-cathedral. Such is a rough outline of the first cathedral of Canterbury, a building likely to exert an immense influence on all the churches of the converted Saxons throughout England, and to be adopted as a type; and in such manner did it exist until 1067, when it was totally destroyed by a fire which laid nearly the whole city in ashes. Thus Lanfranc, the first Norman archbishop, on taking possession of his See in 1070, found his cathedral, the venerable monument of Augustine and Ethelbert, in ruins. The new archbishop, with characteristic Norman energy, lost no time in setting about an entire removal of the remains of the Saxon church, and the erection of a new one commensurate in dignity with the primatial rank of his See. He refused to be fettered by the plan and arrangements of the old basilica, being bent on making his new cathedral in every respect an example of the "novum compositionis genus," in which, however, he had been anticipated by the Confessor at Westminster, and, in all probability, at Waltham. Before his elevation to Canterbury, Lanfranc was Abbot of St Etienne—the Abbaye aux Hommes—at Caen; and as the description given by Gervase of Lanfranc's Norman cathedral at Canterbury tallies so completely with that church —the received Norman model—both in plan and

arrangement, it is not unreasonable to suppose that one formed the model for the other. Ramée, in his "Histoire de l'Architecture," gives a ground plan of the abbey at Caen as it existed before the erection of the present exquisite choir in the thirteenth century, showing that the portion east of the nave (which remains *in statu*) comprised short transepts with an apsidal chapel projecting from the eastern face of both, and a choir of only two bays, terminating in an aisleless apse, and with the side aisles ending rectangularly. At Canterbury the plan was precisely similar, either transept having a two-storied apsidal chapel on its eastern side, and a transverse gallery supported on an isolated pillar as at Winchester, Ely, and the great Norman church of Boscherville near Rouen, for the preservation and exhibition of relics.[1] There was a central lantern, and (though this is only recoverable by analogy) a small choir of two bays, raised, like its Saxon predecessor, on a crypt, and terminating in an apse. That the nave of Lanfranc's church was of nine bays can be proved beyond dispute, as until 1832, when an ill-advised love of uniformity led to its destruction, the north-western tower was standing.

The eastern limb of Lanfranc's building soon proved inadequate for the religious attached to the monastery, and for the increasing splendour of the English ritual, and after an existence of but twenty years was removed by the prior and monks at the instance, or at least with the approbation, of his

[1] This feature reproduced itself in Early English times in the north-eastern transept of Lincoln Cathedral.

successor, Anselm. Begun about 1093 by Prior Ernulf, the new choir was carried on to completion by Prior Conrad, and with great celerity. Professor Willis, in his invaluable "Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral," has shown us that Ernulf's enlargement was so extensive that the church was nearly doubled by it, both in length and area. Here, instead of the short eastern limb, which in early post-Conquest churches rarely exceeded four bays, we find a choir of no less than nine bays to the chord of the apse—now no longer a tradition of the aisleless basilican niche—but a graceful chevet whose eight columns sustained seven arches opening into a procession path formed by continuing the aisles, and from which a square-ended chapel, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was entered. Another feature in this "Glorious Choir of Conrad," as it was styled, was the eastern transept, doubtless a feature imported from Burgundy. It was of greater elongation than the transept of Lanfranc's portion, and each arm had two apsidal chapels opening out of its eastern side. There was a short retrochoir beyond this eastern transept, and flanking the apse were the towers of St Anselm and St Andrew, with eastern apses containing altars; indeed, the large number of altars, many of them enshrining relics of peculiar sanctity, together with tombs of archbishops that appear in the plan given by Professor Willis, sufficiently indicate the leading motive for the enlargement of Lanfranc's church.

Besides this, it must be borne in mind that the Norman era was, as a whole, one of regular architectural activity.

Each generation of builders strove to surpass its predecessor, and the Normans of the second period treated the earlier efforts of their countrymen with the same scant courtesy that was shown at the Conquest to the work of the Saxons. It is a striking fact that Archbishop Lanfranc had erected a new metropolitan church from the foundation, yet, within a generation, its Priors, Ernulf and Conrad, demolished his choir, and rebuilt it on a scale of transcendently greater magnificence.

Conrad's choir was dedicated in 1130, in the presence of Henry I. of England, David of Scotland, and all the English bishops, and although not vaulted must, with its unbroken range of simple round columns and arches, and its low clerestory, have presented an appearance of much grandeur and solemnity. Forty-four years later it was so much damaged by that disastrous fire vividly described by Gervase—a monk of the convent—as to require almost entire rebuilding. The architect to whom the work was entrusted was William of Sens, who had, in all probability, been engaged on the then recently completed cathedral of that city, and which in some particulars so strikingly resembles Canterbury, that on entering it for the first time a few years ago, on a brilliant Sunday afternoon, during the singing of a splendid Plainsong Office Hymn at Vespers, I could not help exclaiming, "Well, if this was the parent of Canterbury, it was indeed a glorious one."

The Transitional style in England must yield in priority to that of France, as evidenced by such works as the eastern chapels of St Denis, the west front

of Chartres, the cathedrals of Sens, Laon, and Noyon, and the abbey of Pontigny; yet in none of these examples do we find the style carried out with such a sense of refinement as in the present magnificent choir of Canterbury, whose erection may be said to have opened up an entirely new era in the architectural history of England; for, from that time, the round-headed arch and other heavy Norman details gradually vanished, to be replaced by the pointed arch and the slender shaft with its delicately-foliaged capital, which was the natural outcome of our friendly intercourse with the Continent during the long and peaceful reign of Henry II.

Viewed in this way, the destruction of Conrad's choir is a matter of rejoicing, supplanted as it was by another which for dignity and expansion, to say nothing of its wealth of graceful detail, is without a rival.

The shattered walls of Conrad's choir were retained as far as possible, but additional height was given to them, and a stone vault substituted for the wooden one, which doubtless hastened the mischief. Of the architects, both French and English, called in to repair the damage,[1] the monks, who entertained a great affection for the choir of Conrad, preferred William of Sens, because, more conservative than the others who had recommended its entire demolition, he undertook to preserve and restore as much of the old work as possible. As far as the apse, Conrad's plan was adhered to.

But four years before the fire, the cathedral had been the scene of the murder of Thomas à Becket, so, to do honour to that great saint, with whose

[1] "Convocati sunt artifices Franci et Angli."—GERVASE.

THE CHOIR LOOKING EAST

From a Drawing by Rawé

CANTERBURY . . CATHEDRAL

name Canterbury was henceforth to be inseparably connected, the choir received a considerable addition of length by that graceful chapel of the Holy Trinity erected on the site of the former one in which the Archbishop had celebrated his first Mass, and in the crypt beneath which his body was first interred. Thus, the ruling idea of the rebuilders of the church was not merely to secure the honourable collocation of the lesser and older relics of the church, but, in the words of Dean Stanley,[1] "to provide a fitting abode for their greater and more recent treasure, through which they were daily obtaining those vast pecuniary resources that alone could have enabled them to rebuild the church on its present splendid scale." William of Sens was somewhat fettered by the necessity of making his work in the choir correspond with that of Conrad, but when he reached the site of the old apse, two bays beyond the eastern transept, he was enabled to give full rein to his originality. Thus it is that the Trinity Chapel, with its transversely coupled columns, recalls Sens as its prototype much more strongly than any other part of the choir, and pointing to the probability that, although carried out by "the English William," after he of Sens had been crippled by a fall from a scaffold at the beginning of the fifth year of the work, it had been fully composed in the mind of the latter.

But the work did not stop here, for, from the procession path of the apse, there opens out a circular building, the precise origin of whose appellations, "Corona" and "Becket's Crown," does not seem very clear.

[1] "Historical Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral."

Eadmer, writing early in the twelfth century, tells us that when Archbishop Anselm was at Rome in the early part of his episcopate and attending a council in the Lateran, a question arose as to his proper place, since no Archbishop of Canterbury had as yet been present at a Roman Council. The Pope, Urban II., decided it by assigning to the "alterius orbis papa" a seat in the CORONA, the most honourable position, and it is possible that this fact may have induced the architects on the rebuilding of the choir to make this eastern apse or Corona. From the fact that it contained a golden reliquary in the form of a head, containing some relic of the martyred archbishop, perhaps the severed scalp, the term "Becket's Crown" may be derivable.

Finished in 1184, this circular projection beyond the apse at Canterbury affords one of the earliest instances of the Pointed Gothic, in which its features and details appear to have become definitely settled. It was to have consisted of three stories, but the uppermost one, doubtless intended to have been covered with a conical roof, stopped short when the windows had been commenced. Twice within the last century was the completion of the Corona attempted. Mr Austin, the cathedral surveyor, once submitted a design which consisted of two elaborate Decorated spires; but it was considered too ornate to harmonise with the substructure, and the project was therefore abandoned.

Then about 1860 Sir Gilbert Scott furnished another design. This, it is presumed, was approved of, as the work was put in hand; but after a con-

siderable quantity of stone had been worked ready for fixing, the order to stop was given, and the prepared stone was deposited in the crypt. Since then no further steps have been taken in the matter.

Although Canterbury Cathedral is mainly the work of two great architectural periods — the transitional from Norman to Early English, and the Perpendicular — it offers a magnificent and instructive series of objects of study in minor details. In the walls of the cloister, on either side the door leading into the Martyrdom Transept, is some charmingly developed Early English. The Early Decorated is illustrated in the tomb of Archbishop Peckham, while of the same style in its later phase it would be hard to find a lovelier example than the eastern window of St Anselm's Chapel. Then there is the lower part of the great rectangular Chapter-house, and that marvellous screen with which Prior Henry D'Estria encompassed the choir early in the fourteenth century.

The Norman nave and transepts of Lanfranc's Cathedral existed until 1378, when, having fallen into a ruinous condition, Archbishop Sudbury issued a mandate granting forty days' indulgence to all contributors towards the rebuilding of these portions. The work was continued under his successors, Archbishops Courtenay and Arundel, the architect being, in all probability, Thomas Chillenden, Prior of the convent. The nave, therefore, dates from between 1380 and 1411, when it was rebuilt in its present light and graceful Perpendicular style, though not so completely but

that some fragments of the old structure still remain embedded in the walls. Until 1832,[1] the north-west tower of rich Norman architecture existed, when, from mistaken notions of uniformity, the canons (to the great credit of their liberality it must willingly be owned) replaced it, when it might have been restored, by a copy of the somewhat heavy south-western one of Archbishop Chichele (1413-44) and Prior Goldstone II. (1495-1517), thus destroying the evidence it gave of the length of the original Norman church. This new steeple at Canterbury should be quoted as illustrating the danger of allowing any meddling, and it must be admitted that the detail is very inferior; but after all the external *ensemble* of the church has gained enormously by the change, if only it is not looked at too closely.

The reconstruction of the cloisters and the building of the upper portion of the Chapter-house was taken in hand upon the completion of the

[1] The first stone of this tower was laid 3rd September 1832, and it was completed in 1839. The architect was Mr George Austin, who, with his son Mr G. H. Austin (d. 1892), held the office of surveyors to the fabric for nearly eighty years. The whole of the stone required for this tower was procured from Caen, from the very quarry which supplied that originally employed to build the cathedral. Three hundred tons were regularly imported into Whitstable every week, whence it was conveyed by railway to Canterbury.

The plates in Britton's, Dart's, and Woolnoth's "Canterbury" show the Norman tower of Lanfranc. Previous to 1703 it was surmounted by a tall spire of lead, built by Archbishop Arundel early in the fifteenth century, but it sustained such injuries in the great storm of that year, that it was taken down, and the tower finished with a new parapet.

main fabric of the nave, *i.e.*, between 1472 and 1492, and three years later, Prior Goldstone II. began the present glorious central tower upon the lantern already prepared by Chillenden to receive it, and whose piers encase the Norman ones of Lanfranc.

It was completed in 1517, and thus the cathedral assumed that form which for nearly four hundred years has dominated the city and the peaceful Thanet landscape environing it.

In 1538 the fiat went forth that the bones of St Thomas à Becket should be burned, and the offerings made at that shrine (towards which for three centuries and a half myriads of pilgrims of all countries and ranks had thronged year after year towards Canterbury "the holy blissful martyr for to seek," after the fashion of that immortal company which shines in the pages of Chaucer), forfeited to the Crown. In September this sentence was carried out: the bones were not burned but buried, the jewels and gold of the shrine were carried off in two coffers on the shoulders of seven or eight men, and the remaining offerings filled twenty-six carts. Finally, an order appeared that Becket was no longer to be called a saint, but "Bishop Becket," that his images throughout the realm were to be pulled down, and his name razed out of all Service Books. The last injunction was rigidly carried out. "The name of Geta," says Dean Stanley in his "Memorials of Canterbury," "has not been more carefully erased by his rival brother on every monument of the Roman Empire." Becket's figure, however, was still allowed to remain

here and there in stained glass windows, and fortunately some of those which once entirely surrounded the Trinity Chapel in this cathedral were of the number.

On 30th March 1539 the great Benedictine monastery of Christ Church, which had existed in connection with the cathedral ever since the time of Augustine, was finally dissolved, and a new establishment, consisting of a dean and twelve prebendaries, was placed in full possession of the church and conventual buildings. The former, however, retained much of its splendour, for the rural population of England were ardently attached to the faith of their fathers, and but trifling changes were made in the internal decoration of our churches till the ascendency of the Calvinists and fanatics under Cromwell.

Even in the present day many of these ancient and holy edifices may be found much more perfect, as regards their original internal arrangements, than those of the Continent.

Indeed, under Charles I., the splendour with which the ceremonial of the services was carried out at Canterbury was such as to excite extreme indignation in the Puritan party, for was it not the very *fons et origo*, the cathedral of the hated Laud?

It is not surprising, therefore, that when the time had arrived; when power was unhappily placed in the hands of the Puritans and they had ample scope to hunt and destroy; when fanaticism lent its fierce and pitiless spirit to the work of spoliation, that Canterbury Cathedral should have witnessed outrages and enormities at the hands of Richard

Culmer—"Blue Dick," as he was popularly styled—only paralleled by those committed at Chichester, Lichfield, Norwich, and Peterborough.

"The news was," says this south-east Anglian Dowsing,[1] "that the troopers fought with God himselfe in the Cathedrall Quire at Canterburie. But the treuth is that on the 26th of August 1642, some zealous troopers after that they had (by command) taken the powder and ammunition out of that Malignant Cathedrall, they fought (it seemes) with the Cathedrall Gods: namely, Altars, Images, Service bookes, Pricke-song booke, Surpliss and Organs; for they hewed the Altar railes all to pieces, and threw their Altar over and over, downe the three Altar steps, and left it lying with the heeles upwards: they slashed some Images, Crucifixes and Pricke-song bookes, and one greasy Service booke, and a ragged smoke of the whore of Rome called a surplisse, and began to play the tune of 'Zealous Souldier' on the organs or case of whistles, which never were in tune since . . . There are no Cathedral Seraphims heard tossing their Quire Service from one side of the Quire to the other, onely plaine Service-booke Service is read in the Sermon House."[2]

With the Restoration, and the appointment of Juxon to the archbishopric, matters returned to their former channel; the choir was refurnished, and from that time the history of the cathedral was an uneventful one until that September day, thirty-three years ago, when it was in danger, if not of total

[1] In "Cathedrall Newes from Canterburie."

[2] Similar atrocities were committed in Norwich Cathedral a year later—events dwelt upon by the excellent but unfortunate Bishop Hall in his "Hard Measure."

destruction, at least of injury that would have been irreparable.

On Tuesday, 3rd September 1872, all England heard with a thrill of horror that the east end of Canterbury Cathedral was in flames. The morning service had concluded, and the choristers and lay-clerks had reassembled in the stalls for their weekly full rehearsal, when Mr John B. Lott, the present organist of Lichfield Cathedral and at that time a pupil of Mr T. E. Jones, the organist of Canterbury, came flying into the building with the intelligence that it was on fire. Dismay sat on every countenance, and in a moment organist, choristers, and lay-clerks had rushed into the precincts, where crowds were assembled, looking on in mute terror at the black column of smoke issuing from the roof between the eastern transept and the apse, those who noted odd coincidences remembering that the fire which did so much damage to Conrad's choir broke out, almost to a day, six hundred years before. It appeared that about half-past ten one of the plumbers at work repairing some of the joints in the lead-work here, upset his portable fire, which immediately ignited some of the dry, exposed timber beneath.[1] At any rate, it was not until after eleven that any alarm was raised. Fortunately the city had a high pressure water-supply, and this circumstance, combined with the great personal exertions of the military and the intrepidity of Mr Andrews, the gas superintendent of the cathedral, and Mr George

[1] Only two months before, the roof of St Mary Magdalene's, Paddington, one of Street's finest London churches, had fallen a victim to the same carelessness.

Delasaux of the Canterbury Volunteer Fire Brigade, averted a national calamity. A ladder from the roof of St Anselm's Chapel enabled these courageous men to reach a dormer intended for access to the choir gutter from the inside of the roof, situated just by the west angle of the converging walls. Entering by this door at midday with the hose, they began to play on the most westerly portion of the flames, then licking along the upper part of the roof, and at once saw them yield to the water. By half-past twelve the fire, which at one time it seemed impossible to overcome, was extinguished, and not only Canterbury, but all England once more breathed freely. As it was, the damage was mainly confined to the roof, but the vaulting of the Trinity Chapel absorbed some of the water poured out above it. The *tas-de-charge* and the ribs here are of Caen stone, the filling in of clunch and Falaise tufa, whitened to a surface on the under side. The altar was removed, and the relics of the Black Prince attached to a beam over his tomb[1]—the shield, chapeau and helmet, surcoat, batten, gauntlets, and leather scabbard with the buckle, and fragment of belt attached, conveyed to a place of safety.

At four o'clock—an hour later than the usual time—and while smoke still filled the choir, Evening Service was sung, the whole of the Chapter then in residence attending. The Psalm for the day,

[1] When the Duchess of Kent brought the Princess Victoria (our late Queen) to see the cathedral about 1832, all these were taken down and placed so that the heir to the throne of England might touch and see in detail some of the personal and other relics of one of her most famous ancestors.

Diligam te Domine—and the *Te Deum* (Garrett in F), which fitly concluded the service, gave expression for the sense of victory over a conquered enemy.

It is customary to compare two of the greatest works that were in progress in England at the junction of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the naves of Canterbury and Winchester Cathedrals; and critics take their sides according to their predilections.[1]

Perhaps the balance should be slightly inclined in favour of Winchester for its greater virility and independence of thought, but lovers of lightness and elegance assuredly give their votes for Canterbury.

Although these two great Perpendicular works were constructed on different principles, the general arrangement of the two compositions will be found the same. At Canterbury, the pier arch mouldings are much lighter and more slender than at Winchester. This is due to the fact that Chillenden entirely rebuilt the Norman nave of Lanfranc at Canterbury, while at Winchester Wykeham was merely casing or refacing the contemporary work of Walkelin. So also the balcony above every pier arch at Winchester does not appear at Canterbury, and the panelling of the combined triforium and clerestory above, which in the former is set back in the middle and enriched with a frame of mouldings, in the latter is all in one place, because, in the first case a thick Norman wall had to be

[1] A view of the nave of Canterbury Cathedral looking west is given on page 18 of Volume I.

CANTER-
BURY CATHEDRAL

NORTH AISLE OF CHOIR

dealt with and disguised. But the patterns of the tracery is the same in both examples, only that the Canterbury transom is higher in proportion. Also in both the opening of the triforium is pierced through the central panel. The side aisle windows of Winchester are exactly the same as the clerestory, viz., of three lights under rather acutely pointed arches, but at Canterbury they are comparatively poor ones of four lights, differing totally from those in the clerestory, which, as they closely resemble the Winchester windows, were in all probability copied from those in the aisles there; for, although Wykeham commenced his work in the Hampshire Cathedral in 1394, and Chillenden his in the Kentish one fourteen years before, the latter being a complete rebuilding, was a more extensive and laborious operation.

But if the nave of Canterbury is deficient in some of those accompaniments which render Winchester the really finer work of the two, it is impossible to set foot within it for the first time without a dazzling astonishment arising from its multiplication of similar parts; without awe, inspired by its perpendicular attitude; without a sense of superiority, impressed by the apparently interminable reaching away from us of the ever-narrowing vista. Writers of all ages have been alive to the glories of its "long-drawn aisle and fretted vault"; of the succession of "antique pillars massy proof"; of arch behind arch "revealing their awful perspective to the astonished gaze." Even the countenances of negroes have been seen to sparkle with raptures of pleasure and admiration, not only

at the glories I have already enumerated, but at the stately flights of steps commencing at the western arch of that glorious central lantern, which pours down a flood of light upon the crossing, and leading up to the screen rich with "dedicated shapes of kings and saints" that conceals "the awful beauties of the sacred quire."

Like that of Rheims,[1] the lower part of the nave at Canterbury Cathedral suffers from a superabundance of light, while the clerestory has been richly dight with a series of angels singing in various attitudes, the idea being to make the entire nave shadow out the *Te Deum.* All this glass was executed and presented half a century ago by Mr G. Austin, architect to the fabric from 1848 to 1892, who likewise made a commencement of the same decoration in the large four-light windows in the western part of the aisles, and in the three-light one in the base of either tower. But as this work shows little or no appreciation of the characteristics of Perpendicular glass, it is a matter of congratulation that it has progressed no further, although what has been inserted imparts strength to the mullions and tracery, which are somewhat poor and attenuated.

The great west window, which closes the vista so grandly, and which so perfectly fits its allotted space, is made up of fragments of old glass collected from others.

[1] At Rheims the aisles were despoiled of their ancient stained glass, not by the Calvinists of the sixteenth century, or the Sans-culottes of 1793, but by the cathedral clergy themselves during the Louis XV. period when ecclesiastical art in France had reached its bathos.

The graceful "strainer" arches which cross the north, south, and west ones of the lantern at about mid-height were added for reasons of greater security by Prior Goldstone II. when he raised his "angelic" Bell Harry tower upon Chillenden's groined lantern. The rood-loft, with the people's altar below it, probably stood against the central one of these inserted arches which, in the view of the nave given in Darts' monograph, is filled up with a high metal screen, extending likewise across the aisles. Gostling, who published his description of the cathedral in 1774, tells us that these screens had been taken away about twenty-five years previously.

During the late Dr Farrar's tenure of the deanery the nave was provided with a pulpit from the designs of Mr G. F. Bodley, and the choristers' desks, which stood in the choir until the renovation of its furniture under Sir Gilbert Scott in 1878. They were designed by Mr Austin, in 1865, and form a memorial to Rev. Joshua Stratton, Precentor from 1829 to 1864.

Under the same *régime* the beautiful Jacobean font which had been relegated to the old Lavatory in Dean Horne's time (1781-90), was restored to its proper place on the north side of the nave as it appears in Dart's view.

Presented in 1636 by Warner, Bishop of Rochester, at that time a prebendary of Canterbury, and consecrated by Bancroft, Bishop of Oxford, this font is an admirable specimen of ecclesiastical art of a period when latent ideas of religious splendour were beginning to revive the works which had been wantonly destroyed by the early Reformers. On this account, therefore, it is not surprising to learn from

his "Cathedrall Newes from Canterburie" that it met with very rough usage at the hands of that "Minister of God's Worde," Richard Culmer, and his despicable crew.

"In that Cathedrall," we are told, "there hath been lately erected a Superstitious Font, with three Ascents to it, paled about with high guilded and painted iron bars, having under the Cover of it a carved Image of the Holy Spirit in the form of a Dove, and round about it are placed carved Images of the Twelve Apostles and Four Evangelists, and of Angels, and over it a carved Image of Christ; so that none can look up in prayer there, but hee shall behold those tempting Images in the place of Divine Worship,"

and much more of the same sort. Somner, the historian of Canterbury, "enquired with great diligence for all the scattered pieces, bought them up at his own charge, kept them safe till the King's return, and delivered them to that worthy Bishop, who re-edified his font and made it a new beauty of holiness, giving Mr Somner the great honour to have a daughter of his first baptized in it."

There is some magnificent Late Perpendicular glass in the great northern window of the Martyrdom Transept, whose "remarkably soft and silvery appearance" has supplied the keynote to much modern work. It was the gift of Edward IV. and his queen, whose figures still remain in it, together with those of his daughter and the two princes murdered in the Tower. In its original state the Virgin was pictured in it "in seven several glorious appearances," and in the centre was Becket himself at full length, robed

and mitred. This part was demolished in 1642 by the Canterbury iconoclast already alluded to, who "rattled down proud Becket's glassie bones" with a pike. While thus engaged, he narrowly escaped martyrdom himself at the hands of a "malignant" fellow-townsman who, "threw a stone with so good a will, that if St Richard Culmer had not ducked, he might have laid his own bones among the rubbish" —a fact which the iconoclast did not think of sufficient importance to mention.

No one who visits Canterbury Cathedral can fail to be disappointed when standing in this transept, the spot where St Thomas died for the Church, that almost every particle of the fabric in which he fell has been removed by the hands of later benefactors to make way for their own erections. Yet those benefactors, whose veneration for that saint did not yield to that of English Churchmen of our own day, and must have been kept alive and excited by the innumerable pilgrims whose faith led them to worship at his shrine, felt not the slightest compunction in demolishing the transept in which he died, nor was any voice raised to pronounce it an act of barbarism.

The power which association exercises over the minds of men at the present day was perfectly unknown to our ancestors. It is surprising how seldom they preserved any old building because the stones of which it was composed had been brought together by the labour of a saint, or were witnesses of pilgrimages, or indicated the locality of his martyrdom. There are, indeed, a few instances where an opposite feeling seems to have prevailed;

as, for example, the little church of Greenstead in Essex, which has no other recommendation than the fact that the body of St Edmund rested there on its way into Suffolk, when it had been removed to London to preserve it from the fury of the Danes. And the same feeling may perhaps account for the well-known retention of Norman doorways and chancel arches, and, in many instances, fonts.

In the Norman cathedral the Lady Chapel had occupied the two easternmost bays of the north aisle of the nave, for popular feeling at Canterbury having been directed to an indigenous form of devotion, it was relegated to a less honoured position than the head of the cross. Prior Goldstone shifted it further eastward between 1449 and 1468, rebuilding in the richest style of the day, with a fan vault, the apsidal chapel of St Benedict opening from the Martyrdom Transept, famous in Becket's history as that to the altar of which the monk Grim fled for refuge after his ineffectual defence of the archbishop.

In the corresponding position in the opposite transept is St Michael's or the Warrior's Chapel which, as it has been ascertained to date from about 1370, would be one of the earliest additions made to the cathedral in Perpendicular times. The great transept window here has some coeval painted glass worthy of study.

Passing through a door in the western wall of this "Martyrdom Transept," we find ourselves in the graceful Perpendicular cloisters from whose eastern ambulatory the Chapter-house is entered.

Although not comparable with the octagons at Salisbury, Wells, and York, the Canterbury Chapter-

house is a noble hall, measuring 93 feet by 35 feet, and, notwithstanding successive rebuildings and additions, retains its original Norman plan, an oblong.

It was into Lanfranc's Norman Chapter-house that Archbishop Becket came, with his monks and chaplains, on that memorable winter evening of 29th December 1170, just before his murder in the adjoining "Martyrdom." In 1304 the princely Lord Prior Henry d'Estria began to rebuild it, and to him is due all the work below the windows—the continuous series of trefoil-headed arcades which, forming canopies to the seats of the monks when assembled in Chapter, line the north and south sides, and the more highly enriched ones, including the throne of the Prior at the east end. A century later this noble room was completed by Prior Chillenden, who gave it its range of lofty Perpendicular windows and elaborately groined roof of timber. Roughly speaking, therefore, we are in a building of which the walls are partly eight hundred years old, the lower division six hundred years old, and the upper division five hundred years old. The windows on the north side—Perpendicular ones of four lights, similar to those in the nave aisles—were always panelled as they are now, for they formed the southern wall of the great dormitory of the monks. Those on the south side, which had been plastered up, have now been re-opened and reglazed. The stained glass in the great eastern window of seven lights was destroyed by the Puritans, but in 1897 was refilled by Mr Hemming with tiers of figures, and symbols of all who have been most famous in the history of the cathedral, or who have most enriched its resources

and adorned its annals from Queen Bertha, the first Christian English queen, to her late Majesty; and from Archbishop St Augustine to Archbishop Benson.

The great west window has likewise received its complement of stained glass from the same atelier.

In 1554 the Chapter-house was arranged as a Sermon-house, and in the north-east corner was a royal gallery, to be used whenever the king and queen were present, which, in those days, was a common event; and for many years the congregation, after prayers in the choir, used to retire here for the sermon, but this was found so inconvenient that the practice was discontinued until the time of James II. The Lord Chancellor (Jeffreys) then informed the Chapter that the Presbyterians had a petition before the King and Council, representing it as a place of little or no use, and desiring that they might have it as a meeting-house. The person entrusted with this message, being a member of the choir, proposed their making it the chapel for early prayers, which were read every day in the week, and, till then, in the choir. "This will do," said the Chancellor, "advise your dean and prebendaries from me to have it put to that use immediately, for if the Presbyterians don't get it, perhaps others will, whom you may like worse."

In 1827, while the heavy eighteenth-century wainscotting which concealed the beautiful Decorated screens of D'Estria round the choir was being removed, and the organ transferred to the triforia, the cathedral services were held in the Chapter-house, and again in 1879, while the refurnishing of the choir was in progress under the direction of

Mr John Oldrid Scott. The building gradually fell into a melancholy aspect of decay and disrepair, from which it was restored between 1896 and 1897 during the decanate of Dr Farrar, by the late Sir Arthur Blomfield.

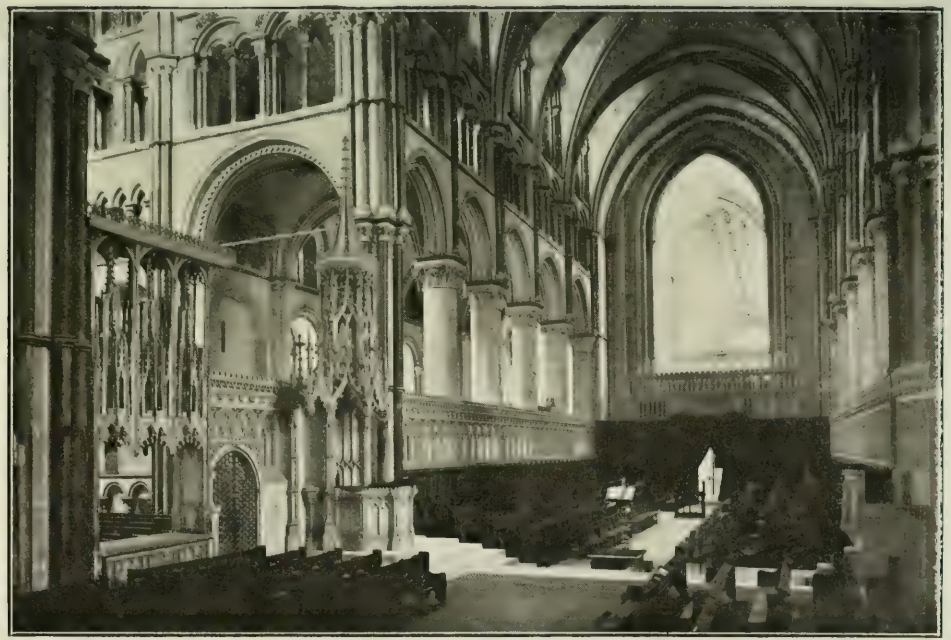
It has already been stated that the reconstruction of the choir after it had been destroyed by fire in 1174 was placed in the hands, not of an Englishman, who would have carried it on according to English traditions, such as we may see in St Cross at Winchester; nor yet in the hands of a Norman architect, whose course might have been nearly the same; nor yet of an architect from Anjou or Maine, or Touraine or Poictou, in which case we might have had an Angevine church, such as the cathedral at Angers, or the church of Nôtre Dame de la Couture at Le Mans, or such as Henry II. was building at Poitiers; but it was committed to the hands of an architect from the central or Domaine Royale of France, where the most typical form of the Transition was in its most active progression, as visible in such churches as Laon, Noyon, Paris, Sens, St Leu d'Esserent and Mantes; in the south transept of Soissons; in the choirs of St Remi at Rheims and Nôtre Dame at Châlons sur Marne; and in the apse of St Denis. Thus we have some of the most refined metal from the French refining pot thrown suddenly into our English crucible.

In building this present noble choir of Canterbury, William of Sens and his assistant and successor, William, commonly called the Englishman, introduced three types of capitals into their columns, all of them different from the purely English types till

then in use. Thus, in the great alternately round and octagonal columns separating the choir from its aisles we find an extensive use of the Byzantine variety; the *capital á crochet* is interspersed throughout; and, in the chapel of the Holy Trinity, with its transversely coupled columns, occurs that curious rudiment of the Corinthian abacus which is the prevailing type in the greatest French example of the Transition, five-aisled Nôtre Dame at Paris.

But throughout this glorious Transitional choir at Canterbury, in which it is difficult to know what to admire most—the noble ranges of columns and arches in the portions west and east of the transept, the graceful clusters of shafts at the junction of the four arms, the beautifully proportioned triforia, the continuous series of lancets in the clerestory, the cleverness with which the wide choir is joined to the more contracted Trinity Chapel—throughout this choir, the English style always holds its own in a greater or less degree, and at times shows desperate fight. The French insinuates itself quietly but surely, yet never over-rides the claims of the native style; while the English style at length, seeing her Romanesque traditions failing her, steps out boldly on her own account and beats the French almost out of the field with her own weapons; surpassing her in mouldings, and in the delicacy and grace of the foliaging of her capitals.

I alluded just now to the gradual narrowing of the choir at Canterbury at its junction with the Trinity Chapel. This was the result partly of sentiment, partly of an ingenious utilisation of the older church foundations still existing in the crypt.



CANTER-
BURY CATHEDRAL.

THE CHOIR LOOKING WEST

The same economical considerations affected the rebuilders of other choirs of our cathedrals, as, for instance, Winchester and Gloucester, where the existence of a semi-circular crypt compelled the later architect, who could not afford to destroy the whole of the foundations, to adopt some ingenious system of plan to enable him to combine the two. At the Abbey of St Denis, near Paris, precisely the same necessity compelled the architect to make the first bay of his choir incline considerably on plan. Mr Street, in his churches of St Saviour, Eastbourne, and St John the Divine, Kennington, had recourse to this expedient of the "canted bay" for uniting a wide nave with a chancel of much more contracted dimensions.

In fact, it is one of the charms of Gothic buildings that whenever such a necessity exists it can be honestly met, as a matter of course, by some arrangement which, while it is patent to every one, at the same time adds to the picturesqueness and beauty of the design.

The fire, which had enabled William of Sens to reconstruct the choir of Canterbury on its present glorious scale, began in the roof. That portion of the building fell in, igniting the wooden seats and furniture, and the intense heat from the conflagration calcined and split the columns of the arcade to such an extent as to necessitate the removal of the whole within the two outer walls. These, as is evident from the portions remaining, were protected from the direct action of the fire by the stone vaulted ceiling of the aisles, and were thus comparatively uninjured. William of Sens' idea was to reconstruct in a new and commanding style the pillars and arches on the old foundations above

Prior Ernulf's crypt, and to cover them with a groined stone vault in place of the wooden ceiling, thus reducing the risk of another disaster by fire, whilst he proposed to retain the old stone walls of the aisles and to raise them to fit the proportions of the new arcades. This will account for the introduction of two tiers of windows in the aisles—large round-headed ones, singly or in triplets, below, and short trefoil-headed ones above.

When the English William followed out the plans of his predecessor of Sens, he made some slight differences in the superstructure, patent only to the critical and practical eye, but which are most readily discernible in a certain gracefulness and freedom of design in some of the details of the eastern portion of the church.

To study the departure from the first design we must descend to the grand crypt or undercroft of the Trinity Chapel. Here we perceive the hand and mind of a new master who, being unfettered, adopted a bolder, more advanced, and thoroughly English style of Pointed work.

In the beginning of the fifth year from the fire, September 1179, and at the resumption of the works, the monks were seized with a violent longing to prepare the choir so that they might enter at the following Easter, and the master set himself manfully to work accordingly. The convent, ejected from the old choir by the fire of 1174, re-entered the new one at about nine o'clock on Easter Eve in 1180,[1] the necessary funds for carrying on

[1] Rediit Conventus in novum chorum Aprilis xix.° die vigilia Paschæ horâ quasi nonâ.—GERVASE.

the work, and its subsequent completion four years afterwards, being derived, so Professor Willis opines, from offerings at the shrine of Becket.

Although the choir of Canterbury Cathedral cannot boast those magnificent ranges of canopied stalls that are the pride of Beverley, Chester, Gloucester, Lincoln, Norwich, and Ripon, it has in compensation the early fourteenth-century stone screen of Prior Henry d'Estria, which in the western part is carried along uninterruptedly in front of the great columns, but, in the portion east of the transept, is placed between them.

As regards its arrangements the choir of Canterbury has undergone a number of different changes. In its oldest state there stood at the top of the lofty stairs leading from it to the Trinity Chapel, the great patriarchal throne, one of the chairs in which the archbishop was formally enthroned, but dating only from early in the thirteenth century. It has been long since removed, but in a plan drawn in the time of the Commonwealth, it was shown in its old position. About Charles II.'s time it was relegated, for some inexplicable reason, to Becket's Crown, and again, not so very long ago, it was transferred to the south-eastern transept, but it is now again in the Corona.

In addition to his beautiful stone screens, Prior Henry d'Estria had fitted up the western half of the choir with stalls like other cathedral choirs, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century not only were they removed, and a continuous unbroken bench substituted, but the whole of D'Estria's screen-work was concealed by wainscotting, as

may be seen from the drawing by Charles Wild, published with his description of the cathedral in 1807. Similar woodwork was carried across the eastern transept and into the first two bays of the choir beyond, at which point an immense wooden altar-piece was erected. Rather before this, in Charles II.'s time, the western stalls of D'Estria had been removed, and the present canopied ones in most graceful Corinthian—ascribed to Grinling Gibbons—set up, but with the exception of these return-stalls and the archiepiscopal throne, also perhaps from the hand of Gibbons, and (sad to relate) long since removed, there was but little merit in the furniture of the choir at Canterbury.

The first step was taken in, or about, 1827 under Dean Percy, when the whole of the wainscotting which concealed the screen-work of D'Estria was, with the exception of that on either side of the entrance to the choir, removed, and the present altar-piece, the idea for which was borrowed from the screen-work of the Lady Chapel in the crypt, set up.[1] The wall space below D'Estria's screens remained bare until 1877, when Sir Gilbert Scott, having found a portion of the fourteenth-century panelling which originally covered it, was able to reproduce it with exactitude, but the stalls and sub-stalls had so completely disappeared and been replaced by wretched pewing that the architect in this matter had to use his own judgment. However, the general appearance of the reseated

[1] Its present position, at the top of the steps leading to Trinity Chapel, is dignified, but it tends to diminish the true height of the building at this point.

THE CHOIR IN 1807
From a Drawing by Charles Wild

CANTERBURY . . CATHEDRAL

choir, which was re-opened 18th November 1879, is very satisfactory and quiet, and as regards its detail thoroughly English, reproducing that of D'Estria's time as nearly as possible.

The Renaissance canopies to the return-stalls had a very narrow escape from being removed elsewhere at the time this refitting was undertaken. That they are not what one would call *old* work in the usual use of the term, as referable to mediæval remains, it is true, but they are sufficiently ancient to be historically interesting as specimens of their date; and what is more important than mere archaic considerations, they look well where they are, and correspond to the whole feeling of the choir. The question as to their retention or non-retention, in the place which they had occupied for nearly two hundred years, arose through the discoveries made by Sir Gilbert Scott in the walls against which they stand. On removing certain portions of these stalls, part of the screen of D'Estria's time was found, which differed in this respect from the side screens, that whereas the latter had lost all their ancient colouring, the former retained the whole of it. The peculiarity of the stall-work at Canterbury was, that it had no canopies except at the west end, viz., above the seats which used to belong to the prior and sub-prior. These were, of course, shorn almost completely away when Gibbons' work was introduced, but sufficient remained of them to suggest what should be done in the event of removing the seventeenth-century stalls to some other position; the generally given excuse for this being that they were in a bad light. As the

existence of what is still behind them is known to but few, it may be interesting to state that in general design it resembles the side screens, but is more elaborate in detail, having the spandrels of the arcades filled with richly carved diaper work, also painted panels between the arched openings. The space between the cills of the arcades and the elbows of the stalls is filled in with oak boarding, and decorated with a beautiful broad band of green, powdered with gold stars. The original colouring of the screen is mostly in a good state of preservation, and agrees with traces of similar work still existing in the southern screen towards the east end, and showing that this decoration was continued all round the choir. Archbishop Tenison's dignified throne of carved wood shown in Razé's and Wild's views was replaced in 1844 by the present unhappy one. For a long time it was lost sight of, but in response to the solicitations of certain persons who had sufficient courage to express their liking for the furniture of that period, however "incongruous" or "un-Gothic" it may be, this grand old piece of late seventeenth-century workmanship has been set up in the south-eastern transept. Let us hope that, ere long, it may be restored to its only rightful position. The quiet, unobtrusive pulpit opposite the present throne was designed in 1848, by Mr Butterfield.

The altar was removed to the place it now occupies, viz., at the top of the steps leading to Trinity Chapel, in 1827. Before then it was two bays in advance, as may be seen by comparing the two views of the choir by Razé and Wild. Previous to 1784 the

organ stood above the northern range of stalls. It had a very handsome Renaissance case, in harmony with the throne and return-stalls, and figures in the view of the choir given by Dart in his "History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury," where, however, it is shown as standing within the second bay. It stood, as has been discovered by marks, within the first, next to the screen. It was then rebuilt by Green, and placed in a Gothic case upon the choir-screen. Here it remained until 1827, when, as Professor Willis tells us, it was "ingeniously deposited out of sight in the triforium of the south aisle of the choir; a low pedestal, with its keys standing at the back of the lay clerks' desks on the Decani side, being contrived so as to bring the organist close to the singers, as he ought to be." This was a triumph of mechanism for the period, and it is curious to reflect that it was achieved during the latter part of the organistship of Highmore Skeats, senior,[1] who seems to belong to the previous century. The alterations were effected by Hill.

This organ being found wholly unfit for the performance of much of the music which the improved services of the cathedral required, an entirely new one was built by Willis, and opened 30th July 1887. It is played above the stalls within

[1] Since 1778 Skeats had been organist of Ely Cathedral. He was appointed organist of Canterbury on the resignation of Samuel Porter in 1803. He died in 1831, and was buried on 14th July in the churchyard of St Martin. He will be chiefly remembered by his complete service in C major, noteworthy as being in triple measure throughout.

"In 1825 James Longhurst, father of the late Dr W. H. Longhurst, organist of Canterbury Cathedral from 1873 to 1898, added 'German pedals' to the old organ then standing on the

the second bay on the south side, and it is to be hoped that the noble case designed by Mr John Oldrid Scott will soon become an accomplished fact.[1]

In 1827, while the wainscotting was being removed from the screens round the choir, and the organ in course of removal, the cathedral services were held in the Chapter-house, or, as it was then styled, the Sermon House, being fitted up with a pulpit, pews, and galleries. At this time, the late Sir George Elvey (organist of St George's Chapel, Windsor) was a chorister of Canterbury (he was born in 1816), and among the many diverting anecdotes which he used to relate of his days there is the following :

"In going down to the Sermon House to turn the books for the service one morning, I caught a young jackdaw. My intention was to have returned and deposited Jack until after service in the cupboard where the surplices were kept. Instead of this,

choir-screen, and supplied the instrument with seven 16-ft. pedal pipes. These 'German pedals' were supposed to have been the first examples of their kind introduced into Kent. Skeats, then organist, had a great aversion to them, and would not use them. When anybody wished to hear the pedal pipes he would call his pupil, Jones (Thomas Evance Jones, who succeeded him as organist in 1831, holding the post for forty-one years) saying : 'Here, Jones, come and show these *things* off, I never learned to *dance*.'"—(From "Cathedral Organists—Past and Present," by John E. West).

[1] Anent this new organ, Dr W. H. Longhurst (the late organist) tells an amusing story in some "Reminiscences" contributed to the *Monthly Journal of the Incorporated Society of Musicians*. "One of the vergers, when describing it to some visitors, pointed upwards, and told them that 'the new *hargin* was put hup in the *Trifolium*' ; that 'the connection between the console and the hargin was done by helectrics' ; and 'the whole thing was set in motion by hydraulic water' !"

however, I met the procession, and I had no alternative but to join in, with the bird stowed away under my surplice. (By the way, in those days we used to wear full surplices, and frills round our necks.) I deposited him on a ledge where we kept our books, and for a time he was quite quiet, but unfortunately he was intoxicated with the music, and toppling off the ledge, boldly walked between the two sides of the choir, and after indulging in various noises, took his flight up to the roof with a loud 'caw,' much to the astonishment of the congregation, but to my intense horror. Service ended, I moved out with the procession in no enviable frame of mind. However, fortunately for me, my brother [1] was master of the boys at this time, and he, knowing that the account I gave of the adventure was correct, could with difficulty conceal his own merriment, and soon succeeded in making my peace with the authorities."

Lady Elvey, in her "Life and Reminiscences" of the distinguished Windsor organist, tells us that at this time there was an old woman about Canterbury whom the choristers nicknamed "Ma'm Godly-books," for if any one appeared in the cathedral without a book, she quickly supplied the deficiency. On one occasion a man peeped in during service time, when the old lady shouted out, "Come in, there's plenty of room!" And so there was, for she was almost the only individual in the cathedral.

While on the subject of matters musical it should be mentioned that Orlando Gibbons, the greatest composer England had as yet produced, is buried here.

[1] Stephen Elvey, subsequently, from 1830 to 1860, organist of New College, Oxford.

In 1625, when Charles I. went to Dover to meet his bride, Henrietta Maria, Gibbons, in his capacity of organist of the Chapel Royal, accompanied him, having been commissioned to compose the music for the marriage. But he died of apoplexy at Canterbury on Whitsunday, and was buried in the cathedral. There is a bust of Gibbons in the north aisle, with a Latin inscription somewhat freely translated in his "Canterbury" by Dart, whose rendering of the sentence "ictu sanguine crudo" as "he died of small-pox," was never called into question, until a recent discovery in the Record Office of the medical certificate of his death was made by Mr W. Barclay Squire stating that he was attacked by lethargy, passing into convulsions, "Then he grew apoplectic, and so died."

In mediæval times the clerestory of the choir at Canterbury was filled with thirteenth-century glass representing the genealogy of Our Lord; each of the large lancets containing two figures.

The cupidity of private collectors, aided by the indifference and carelessness of the guardians of the church in the eighteenth century, deprived these windows of such of their stained glass as had escaped, not only "Blue Dick," but the wicked wantonness of unlucky boys, or of bigger and more unpardonable fools, who think there is wit in doing mischief, especially if that mischief is done to show their contempt of what is sacred. A large number of the figures were transferred to the great Perpendicular windows at the west end and transepts, for which they were singularly unsuited.

Half a century ago Mr G. Austin, the cathedral architect, did his best to rectify this, replacing in the

choir clerestory what he could of the old glass, and making good the deficiencies by work of his own designing and at his own expense, deserving the greatest credit for the laborious and careful way in which he copied the existing remains of old glass in the cathedral.

This, of course, was no advance in the art, but in its then state it was a safe plan to adopt at Canterbury, while its insertion has tended greatly towards toning down the superabundance of light in the choir. The iconography of these windows follows that given by Gostling[1] on page 218 of his "Walk in and about the City of Canterbury," published in 1774, when, as yet, a good deal of the ancient glass remained in these windows.

Mr Austin's work began with the windows in the clerestory of the Trinity Chapel in 1854, and by 1880 he had filled the clerestory throughout the choir. Besides these, many of the windows in the aisles with their quasi-clerestory, and the eastern transepts, have received their complement of stained glass by various hands, most of which, having been designed in one uniform style, is remarkably good, and greatly enhances the solemnity of this part of the cathedral. But we still desiderate colour in the great vaulting cells of the roof, which is at present somewhat bare and ceiling-like. No roof in England offers so grand a field for polychromatic display as this in the choir of Canterbury.

[1] Rev. William Gostling, vicar of Stone, near Tenterden (Isle of Oxney) in Kent, and one of the minor canons of the cathedral. He was born in 1705 at Canterbury, and died there 9th March 1777.

Of ancient stained glass, the cathedral has an inestimable treasure in the windows of the Trinity Chapel and Corona.[1] They are of the thirteenth century, and perhaps the finest in Europe, excelling in many respects those of Bourges, Chartres, Sens, and Troyes, and displaying drawing as accurate and classically correct as that of the purest ages of art, great value being given to the brilliant colours by the profusion of white and neutral tints. The scroll and borders surrounding the medallions are also of extreme beauty. The three windows remaining in the Trinity Chapel are entirely devoted, as were all the rest, to the miracles of Becket, which commenced immediately on the death of the great martyr, to whom, as visions declared, a place had been assigned between the apostles and martyrs, preceding even St Stephen, who had been killed by aliens, whilst Thomas was killed by his own.

During his visit to England in 1847, Henri Gerente, the distinguished French glass painter (who had been sent to Oxford by the Government of Louis Philippe to examine a very valuable collection of drawings of architectural and monumental remains, which, after having been made for the French Crown, had, in consequence of the Great Revolution found its way into the Doucean collection), wished to take tracings of this thirteenth-century glass at Canterbury. But, to his great and just indignation, he was refused permission to exercise his pencil within the walls of the cathedral; indeed, it was only in conse-

[1] Remains of old glass worked up with new may be seen in the quasi-clerestory windows of the south choir aisle, and in the large circular one of the north-eastern transept.

quence of its being in question that he was to work for the church that he was, but a very short time before his death, enabled to obtain the sought-for permission.

On coming to examine, and make his tracings of this glass, which he thought he could prove to be by the very same artist as the unrivalled windows in the *pourtour* of Sens Cathedral, one of which illustrates the history of Becket, Gerente found it in such a state that the substance could be scraped off to a considerable depth with the finger-nails.[1]

Canterbury, like Lincoln, Wells, Salisbury, Lichfield and York, not to mention others, is one of those churches in which the height is insignificant in comparison with such great contemporary French examples as Amiens, Bourges, Beauvais, Chartres, and Rheims. Yet when we come to make the tour of its exterior, we find, notwithstanding it is the work of two widely different epochs, that it is as complete and beautiful on the outside as the inside.

As an exquisite example of the manner in which our architects realised that the effect of size is not given by height alone, but by skilful and picturesque grouping of parts, Canterbury is pre-eminently entitled to a place among the churches I have named above. The moderate height of its roof made it possible for

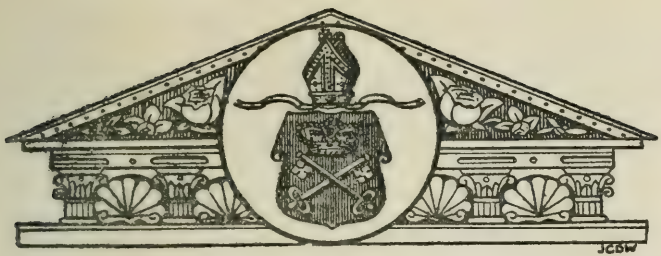
[1] It had been arranged for Gerente to fill the large Norman triplet in the south aisle of the choir with his glass. Upon his death in 1849 the scheme fell through, the work being eventually placed in the hands of Wailes of Newcastle.

The subjects in the centre are selected from the events of the history of Our Lord, antitypal of the acts of Moses and Elijah, commemorated in the flanking ones, so as to make the whole triplet significant of the Transfiguration.

the twelfth-century architect to extend the plan of its choir greatly beyond that of his predecessor's, while it enabled the fifteenth-century man to crown it with that Bell Harry tower, which, without striving after impossible dimensions, is nevertheless a magnificent work, goodly to look upon, "a joy for ever."

A few years ago I enjoyed a ramble among the churches of Normandy and the old Domaine Royale, concluding with Amiens. With the interior of that "colossus in repose" I was, it is needless to say, enraptured, but on making the circuit of its exterior I could not avoid regretting that its enormous height caused the western towers, when seen in connection with the church from the bridge, across the Somme, to shrink into mere turrets. In the evening of the same day I was at Canterbury, arriving just as a glorious sunset was bathing its lovely group of towers in a crimson glow. I had somewhat dreaded what I should feel in regard to its dimensions, after the Titanic piles of masonry I had lately been viewing; but the modest dimensions of its exterior have been so used as to convey those effects of infinite length, of size, of mystery, and of beauty which gave me far deeper pleasure, and to convince me more and more that England possesses cathedrals which, in almost all respects, are as well worthy of study as those of France or any other country, whilst in some of the highest qualities they are, if not equalled, at any rate, unsurpassed.

York Minster



CHAPTER II

YORK

In that rich pleasance of ecclesiological lore, so concise, yet so full of matter, most laboriously compiled and amply illustrated, so generally fair in its statements, moderate in its polemics, always ingenious, often true in its theories, and altogether a contribution of first value to the architectural history of England—I mean "Ferguson's Handbook of Mediæval Architecture"—its author very felicitously shows the greater good fortune of the French in having built all their largest and best churches *d'un seul jet.*

"Our own cathedrals, on the other hand," says Mr Ferguson, "generally dragged on through two or three centuries," the result of which was "to give them a certain degree of historical interest, and also, in some instances, a picturesqueness of effect, the value of which cannot be denied, but it destroys

their value as architectural compositions, and prevents them from competing on anything like fair terms with the great Continental examples."

This is no doubt very true and just, but did the author of these fascinating volumes sufficiently consider how far such statements must be assumed to modify his commendations of the superiority of the English cathedrals as to their general outline?

Canterbury and York, Ely and Lincoln, Winchester and Rochester, Lichfield and Chester may lack the homogeneity of Paris and Laon, of Amiens and Chartres, of Bourges and Rheims, of Coutances and of Noyon, but it cannot be denied that this admixture of styles, coupled with those modest proportions which have permitted their designers not only to play with their outlines by adding transepts and chapels to their choirs, but to produce those beautiful groups of towers and spires in which, with all their grandioseness, the majority of the great churches abroad are generally deficient, constitutes one of the greatest charms of our own.

An English cathedral is a veritable storehouse of surprises. Who, for instance, on seeing the Perpendicular exterior of Gloucester for the first time would imagine that it enshrined Anglo-Norman work, awful in its solemnity? What visitor to Worcester, after viewing that least satisfactory of English cathedral exteriors with feelings akin to disappointment, can repress an exclamation of delight at the rich and varied feast of architecture that lies spread before him as he stations himself at the west end

of the nave and studies the skilful manner in which three distinct epochs of Gothic are blended? Who does not feel his organs of veneration and wonder expand as he pervades the peaceful precincts of Canterbury, Hereford, Lincoln, and Wells, where, amid the varied outline produced by western and eastern transept, Chapter-house and Lady Chapel, an entire new church seems to open upon him, some fresh beauty, some fresh phase of Pointed architecture claiming his attention at every step?

If York Cathedral must yield to some in symmetry of proportion and charm of situation, it stands an unrivalled monument of architectural art. The structure was raised at different periods of time, not far removed from each other, and in the style prevalent in those different ages; but it happens that each of the several parts is perfect of its kind, presenting an incomparable specimen of its respective character of architecture.

The vast scale upon which York Minster has been conceived and carried out, affords an instance of that terrene grandeur, requiring points of comparison to enable it to be appreciated the better, and to stand out. There can be no doubt that this great building, deficient as it is in such dependencies as cloisters and residential houses whose inferior proportions make those of the church itself tell more, is less impressive viewed from the expanse of greensward on the north side than from the opposite one. Here its vast extent and great height can be doubly appreciated by reason of the proximity of houses, and the Late Perpendicular church of St Michael le Belfry. Westminster Abbey derives its

effect of additional height much in the same way, from the contiguous St Margaret's.

My last view of York Minster was obtained under conditions of a fine sunset on an early autumnal day a year ago, from the bay window of an old-fashioned room on the first floor of a house in Stonegate. The afternoon had been stormy, but now the sky was clear, and the picture presented by the clouds piled up in Alp-like masses behind the silvery-grey central tower, rising grandly above the exquisite Early English southern transept front at the end of the narrow picturesque street, is one that will not readily be forgotten.

York Minster stands out from other English cathedrals in several important particulars. Not only is it the longest in the extent of its roof, in which the altitude is maintained at nearly the same level from end to end (486 feet), but it covers more ground than any other, its area being 84,860 square feet. With the exception of its Chapter-house, it has no *entourages* such as cloisters, etc., chiefly from the fact that it was a bishop's church *simpliciter*, a peculiarity which it shares with only one other English cathedral of the Old Foundation, Lichfield. The nave, transepts, and choir are all, as regards their central portions, vaulted in wood, and to this circumstance much of the damage committed by those fires to which twice within half a century the building fell a prey, must be attributed, though on both occasions its unrivalled collection of stained glass escaped with little or no injury. Finally, by a singular inversion of the usual order, the choir was the last part of the work to feel the influence

of new architectural tastes and ritual requirements, the reason for which will appear from the following brief chronological sketch.

York has been famous in England from the earliest times. Under the name of Eboracum it appears to have been one of the principal Roman settlements. Here the Emperor Severus died in the beginning of the third century, and the Emperor Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, in the beginning of the fourth. In Saxon times it was the capital of the kingdom of Deira, and afterwards of the powerful kingdom of Northumberland, formed from the union of Deira and Bernicia, and occasionally enjoying the pre-eminence, both in power and in acknowledged rank over all the other states of the heptarchy. Old historians maintain, that York was the seat of a Christian bishop long before the arrival of the Saxons; and three or four prelates are mentioned as occupying the See in succession, after its foundation by the British King Lucius, whom tradition asserts to have flourished in the second century. But the establishment of the See of York has been proved to date from a considerably more recent era. Augustine, the Apostle of the English, arrived in Thanet, which formed part of the kingdom of Kent in 597. Soon after he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and, according to the generally received account, died in 605. Kent, however, was as yet, and for some time after, the only portion of the island into which the Gospel had penetrated, since its extinction in the fifth century by the Pagan Saxons, when it was driven into Cornwall, Wales, and what is now Lancashire.

Pope Gregory, indeed, by whom Augustine and his companions had been deputed, had commanded that an archbishopric should be established at York, to exercise the same jurisdiction over the northern parts of the country as Augustine was authorised to exercise over the south. But it was not till the year 624 that an attempt seems to have been made to reintroduce Christianity into the northern district. In that year Edwin, the able and powerful King of Northumberland, married Ethelburga, the sister of Ebald, King of Kent, a convert, like the rest of her family, to the new religion, and a lady of great worth and piety. It was with some reluctance that Ethelburga was prevailed upon to give her hand to her idolatrous suitor, although Edwin was accounted the sovereign of the heptarchy; nor would she consent to marry him until he had promised her the free exercise of her religion, and the company of such ecclesiastics as she chose to take with her. Among these was Paulinus, one of the original associates of Augustine, who, before he set out for his new residence, was consecrated Bishop of the Northumbrians by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Justus. It was long, however, before Paulinus could prevail upon Edwin to forsake the faith of his fathers, but at length the conversion of the King was effected through the influence upon his mind of a vision, or dream, which gave a miraculous kind of interest to the exhortations of Paulinus, the circumstances of which have been recorded by Bede with minute particularity. The baptism of Edwin gave occasion to the erection of the first Christian Church at York—the original mother of the present glorious structure. The ceremony was

performed on Easter Day, 12th April 627, in a wooden building, hastily erected and placed, it is said, on the same spot on which the minster now stands. This, however, was soon taken down by Edwin, who commenced the erection of a new church of stone which did not stand long, having been burnt to the ground by an accidental fire in 741. It was soon after rebuilt; but in 1069 it was a second time reduced to ruins in a similar manner; the Norman garrison who occupied the city while it was besieged by the insurgent population of the surrounding country having, in order to drive away the enemy, set fire to a part of the suburbs, from which the flames overspread, and laid waste nearly half the city. On this occasion there perished a famous library which was deposited in the cathedral, collected by Archbishop Egbert, who ruled the See from 730 to 736.

Alcuin, the celebrated preceptor of Charlemagne, received his education at York, and, both in his letters and poems, speaks of this library in terms of the highest admiration, enumerating, in one place, a long list of authors contained in it, some of which are now no longer extant.

When, in 1070, Thomas of Bayeux, the first Norman archbishop, came to take possession of his See, he found his cathedral in ruins. He repaired it as well as he was able, but towards the close of his Episcopate he began an entirely new church, which, as far as can be judged, was parallel to Lanfranc's cathedral at Canterbury, its plan embracing a long nave, a choir, formed beneath the central tower, transepts, with eastern apses, and a short apsidal

presbytery. In this state York Cathedral remained until the middle of the twelfth century, when Roger, Archdeacon of Canterbury, became Archbishop. This prelate, who presided over the See from 1154 to 1181, was a great promoter of the Transition style in Yorkshire, and full, as we may suppose, of recollections of the "glorious choir" of Conrad, he reconstructed the eastern portion of the northern "Metropole" in a similar spirit, though in a lighter style[1] and on a smaller scale. It had eastern transeptal towers, the foundations of which still exist in the crypt, but the east end was rectangular.

The next great change in the old Norman cathedral took place in the thirteenth century, when, between 1230 and 1260, the transepts were removed and replaced by those superb specimens of Early English then indigenous to Yorkshire which we now see.

Each has a western and an eastern aisle, and until the reconstruction of the nave and choir at subsequent periods, had three arches on either side —two wide and the other somewhat narrower— exclusive of the one which communicated with the nave and choir-aisles. Throughout these transepts the thirteenth-century work is of the most beautiful character, combining delicacy with boldness: and, except in the two windows above the southern entrance where a step towards tracery is evident, is of the Lancet phase. The bays are lofty, the nobly moulded arches rising from clusters of shafts with gracefully foliaged caps, banded at half their

[1] In all probability it resembled that still existing in the transepts and northern arcade of the choir at Ripon.

height, and sustaining a well-developed triforium, composed of one wide pointed arch to each bay, containing two lesser arches subdivided into a pair of lancet arcades, with a small quatrefoiled circle in the tympanum. The large containing arch has its tympanum similarly relieved, in this instance, with a cinque-foil. The clerestory is somewhat low, and contains five lancets of equal height in each bay, the three central ones being glazed. The roof was originally intended to be vaulted in stone, but this was evidently abandoned. The present one of wood is, however, very pleasing, though for the most part modern, dating from 1872-74 when this transept was most excellently and conservatively rebuilt under the direction of Mr G. E. Street. The wooden groining which springs from the string-course dividing the triforium and clerestory, has not only enabled the architect to give the same width to both those divisions, but to allow of his exposing the whole of the northern and southern façades to the interior; whereas, had the stone groining, which was to have sprung from a much lower point, been adopted, the five lesser lancets in the northern façade, and the marigold window in the southern one, would only have lighted the space between the inner stone roof and the outer wooden one.

Archbishop Walter de Grey, to whom we owe the south transept, died in 1255, and his effigy, recumbent beneath one of the most graceful pieces of canopy work produced during the Early English period, is in the eastern aisle of this, his own exquisite conception.

The opposite transept, with its renowned lancets, "The Five Sisters," was the work of John

Romanus, Sub-dean and Treasurer, who also built a central bell-tower at his own expense. Romanus' work is slightly subsequent to Walter de Grey's, it having been in progress between 1241 and 1260, but there is little apparent change in the style.

A generation had barely elapsed since the completion of these transepts, when it was determined to rebuild the nave on a scale of magnificence that was rendered possible by a variety of means.

One was that of the offerings made at the shrine of St William, which, like those of St Thomas at Canterbury, St Wulfstan at Worcester, and others elsewhere, had proved a source of great emolument to the church. Another was the activity and liberality of Archbishop John le Romayne and his successor, William de Melton; a third was the usual expedient of indulgences, aided probably by briefs for asking alms and benevolences.

The foundation stone of this great work was laid at the south-east angle on the 7th April 1291, and during the next half-century, when the Norman nave gradually disappeared, it made steady progress. It is, however, to be regretted that the Pointed style had entered upon its second epoch before the commencement of this nave at York. Had it been carried out in the Lancet phase, uniform with the transepts, we should have been in possession of a piece of Early English work, unsurpassed not only in size, but in proportions, excellence of detail, and delicacy of execution.

For, notwithstanding its magnificent dimensions, the nave of York Minster is somewhat disappointing, its chief defect being its great width in comparison

with its length, combined with the wide spacing of the pier arches, which enables the spectator to see through this part of the building in every direction. In this respect the nave of York is quite deficient in that poetry of design which constitutes the charm of the contemporaneous but more modestly planned nave of Exeter. At York, the great vaulting shaft, instead of being corbelled off between the arches, as at Exeter, is continued down to the floor, thus preventing the arcades from assuming that greater appearance of strength desirable from an unbroken group of slender pillars. But in the aisles, where each pier is formed of a large group of shafts, the effect is much bolder. Indeed, for spaciousness and majesty the nave aisles of York, with their groined vaults and perspective of clustered pillars, are almost unrivalled. By the time the upper parts of the nave had been reached, the geometrical phase of the Decorated style had attained its highest excellence, and although at Exeter the triforium had sunk into a feature of comparative insignificance, at York it preserved its grand dimensions, though incorporated with the clerestory.[1]

It is composed of five trefoiled arcades surmounted by straight-sided canopies, formed by continuing the mullions of the clerestory windows down to the string-course above the arches. The tracery in all

[1] This amalgamation of the triforium and clerestory is a common feature in many of the great Continental churches of the fourteenth century, occurring at Auxerre, Metz, Nevers, St Ouen at Rouen, Tours, and Troyes. Frequently abroad the triforium stage was glazed, with very charming, if not somewhat fragile, effect.

the windows of the nave at York is not only very beautiful but very instructive, showing as it does that natural growth which has ever been one of the leading characteristics of English architecture. The earliest is, of course, that in the aisles, whose windows, each of three lights, are traceried with three quatrefoils.

In the clerestory we have nobly dimensioned windows of five lights, surmounted by a large circle, with four quatrefoils radiating from a small fleuriated cross, and with small trefoils in the intervening spaces. By the time the western front had been far advanced, the curvilinear phase of the style had established itself, and in the great central window of eight lights we have a fine example of that type of tracery, though the work is as a whole somewhat deficient in that perfect subordination which is so satisfactory in its great contemporary at Carlisle.

The nave of York Minster is vaulted in wood, yet a roof of so wide a span has a thrusting influence outwards. Flying buttresses, steadied by the weight of pinnacles pressing down, would resist the thrust and keep the walls in order. One is glad to know that it is the intention to add flying buttresses to the pinnacles already existing on the south side of the nave, and to supply both to the opposite one, which has so long exclaimed for them, for the thrust of the roof is telling very distinctly on the clerestory walls, which are already out of the perpendicular. The great height of the walls renders them weak, and makes such an addition a most desirable one from a utilitarian point of view, while æsthetically

YORK . . . .
MINSTER

THE NAVE LOOKING EAST

considered, the building will gain immensely by it.

The aisles of the existing nave being made much wider than those of the old Norman one, necessitated the removal of a portion of the western side of either transept. When this came to be done it was found that the pier separating the two bays of the transepts next the tower, would stand right in the middle of the widened nave aisle. This was not to be tolerated, so the obstructing pier was removed, and the two narrower aisles of the transept converted into one wide one.

Simultaneously with the nave, another great work was in progress at York—the Chapter-house.

Approached like those of Lichfield, Southwell, and Wells from the main fabric—in this instance from the eastern aisle of the north transept by a passage of equal beauty—this house at York, which belongs to the most advanced period of Decorated, is of rare excellence in design and execution. Few things can exceed in beauty the tracery of its windows, which has formed the model for much modern work. It is octangular, but has no central column; consequently its diameter—57 feet—being too great to risk the effect of a stone groining, one has been introduced of wood, which in its construction forms a part of the high-pitched roof.

This conical roof is said to be the only original example of that feature remaining. In comparing the Chapter-houses of York and Salisbury it will be observed how very much larger the abutments of the former are than those of the latter. Here, seven bays of the octagon are filled, in the upper part

with a five-light window richly decorated with tracery and stained glass; in the lower with a set of six stalls, recessed and canopied with rich tabernacle work. Indeed, the whole building fully entitles it to the distinction implied in the ancient verse inscribed on the left side of the entrance—

"Ut Rosa flos florum, sic est Domus ista domorum."

No less beautiful is the entrance doorway from the passage. This is a most graceful conception, comprising two trefoiled arches beneath one of great span, all springing from clusters of slender shafts with rather naturalistically foliaged capitals.

Between the exterior doors is a niched and canopied figure, though mutilated, of the Virgin and Child, and marks where sculpture has existed are visible in the great quatrefoiled circle that relieves the head of the containing arch. The iron scroll-work on these doors, which are the original oaken ones, deserves the most careful study, the scrolls, which are cut into leafage and flowers, being admirable in design, and terminating at the top of the doors in dragons and lizard-like monsters. No less beautiful is the wall arcade above the inner portals with its thirteen pedestals, upon which stood figures of Our Lord (or the Blessed Virgin) and the Apostles, traditionally said to have been of silver gilt.

Archbishop Roger's long twelfth-century choir was still standing, when, in 1355, the works in the nave were brought to a conclusion by the vaulting in wood. It was, however, felt desirable to replace this eastern limb with one that should be more consonant with the grand nave and transepts. This

magnificent piece of fourteenth-century work is due to Archbishop Thoresby, who seems to have been actuated by the desire to produce something that should exceed all other English choirs both in dimensions and richness of detail.

Commenced in 1361, at a distance of about 80 feet from the eastern wall of Roger's choir, it was determined that this extension at York should not take the form of a mere elongation of the old work by low eastern aisles with a procession path opening into a Lady Chapel as at Exeter, Gloucester, Salisbury, St Alban's, and elsewhere, but, like those at Worcester and Lincoln, should comprise a fitting receptacle for the shrine of William, the great saint of York, for the altar of the Blessed Virgin, a presbytery, and a "chorus cantorum," all under one line of roof. The central portion of the new work was kept of the same width as Archbishop Roger's, but the aisles were broadened, so much so that they included the hitherto projecting eastern transept.

At the time this great work was set on foot, the flowing lines of the curvilinear phase of Decorated art were gradually losing themselves in the horizontalism of the Perpendicular, but in the arcades separating the choir from its aisles it appears to have been the aim of their designer to assimilate them as far as possible to those in the then but lately finished nave.

The eastern transepts were reproduced, partly with the view of breaking up the long line of nine bays, and also to perpetuate the memory of Archbishop Roger's transeptal towers; but as they are of the same width as the other bays of the choir

and do not project beyond the line of the aisles, they are not observable on the ground plan. Internally, we are only made aware of their presence at a *coup d'œil*, by the omission of the tracery from the clerestory above the bays opening into them, which are carried on in the same line with the rest, and it is not until we pass into the aisles, whose long perspective of vaulted roof they succeed in breaking so agreeably, that the full magnificence of these lantern-like eastern transepts with their immensely tall transomed windows bursts upon us.

It is in the aisles of this grand eastern limb of York Minster that the Transition from Decorated to Perpendicular is most apparent, these portions having been first completed, but by the time the upper parts had been reached the latter style had fully assumed its sway. The walls of the new choir aisles were built outside the line of the twelfth-century ones, so that without pulling down more than the flanking towers of Archbishop Roger's east end, the services in the old choir could be carried on without interruption for as long as possible.

When it became necessary to take down what remained of the Transitional Norman work, some temporary arrangement must have been made for the services, and in the absence of any definite information it is not unreasonable to suppose that the nave and the space beneath the central tower would be selected for this purpose.

Some delay occurred in the completion of the work, but in 1405 the whole eastern limb stood finished, and thus, in the magnificent central lantern, whose erection followed closely upon that of the choir,

the work of three great architectural periods, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular met.

Although the plan of continuing the aisles until they were parallel with the east end of the choir had made its appearance at much earlier periods, as for example in the Early English at Ely, and in the Decorated at Lincoln, Ripon, Carlisle, Selby, and St Mary's, Beverley, the choir of York Minster was perhaps the earliest Perpendicular building in which this arrangement was observed. Doubtless it greatly influenced building and design in the county, for, to name but a few of the many churches in which it occurs—Hull, Tadcaster, Thirsk, Sheffield, and St Martin's, Coney Street in York itself—is sufficient to prove that this square system of planning became not only quite a Yorkshire feature, but spread to adjacent counties.

The east end of York Minster must be considered the most truly magnificent and truthful of all English cathedral east ends, and its central window, without doubt the grandest in general effect in the country, is, with the exception of that of Gloucester, the finest in point of dimensions, being 78 feet high by 33 wide. Moreover it retains the stained glass with which it was originally filled, a glorious wall of colour on which the eye rests with an admiration and delight that increases with every visit.

There are many features on the exterior of this noble building upon which I should delight to dwell did space permit, but I cannot quit it without observing that the grand group of towers was carried up and completed, as we now see them, as

soon as the works in the new choir were out of hand, between 1405 and 1472. On 3rd July of the latter year, the finishing touch having been put to the minster, it was reconsecrated.

The outer screen of tracery that has been given to the four easternmost clerestory windows on either side is a very remarkable feature, and one whose effect is certainly very enchanting. Though not infrequent in German Complete Gothic, I cannot recall another instance of its use in this country. It should be borne in mind that in the choir of York Minster we are contemplating what is, to a considerable extent, a modern work. For during the night of 1st February 1829 it was set fire to by Jonathan Martin, a religious fanatic[1] whose vagaries had previously given much trouble elsewhere. He concealed himself in the building after the afternoon service of that day, which was Sunday, and by some means or other contrived to elude the vigilance of the officials when closing it.

In his statement, Martin related how on coming to the great door in "the praying place"—the entrance in the glorious choir-screen—he found it locked; he had already cut away a part of the bell-rope after

[1] There was possibly some taint of insanity in the family, as all his three brothers were, to say the least, eccentric. One of them was John Martin the artist, whose pictures, notably the Fall of Babylon and Belshazzar's Feast, with its masses of colossal architecture retreating into infinitive perspective, its crowds of small figures, the glitter of gold candelabra, and other details of the banquet seen in strange varieties of light and gloom, enhanced by the vivid writing on the wall to which all eyes are turned, produced at one time an overwhelming effect upon a large section of the public.

the ringers had left, and by its aid he was enabled to surmount the screen, and to let himself down into the choir. He described his subsequent proceedings in the following words:

"The first thing I did was that of getting all the books that I could and cushions that were necessary, piled them up in two heaps, and set one pile on fire at the Archbishop's throne, and the other at the right-hand side of the organ; but, before I set it on fire, I scrambled up the pulpit side and cut off the gold lace all round the pulpit with my razor, and after that I cut off all the silk velvet I could get. When half-past two o'clock struck I lighted my fires; that at the Archbishop's throne burnt very fast, but the other burnt very slowly. I stayed half an hour in the place watching it. At three o'clock I started out and went on my journey."

The fire was not discovered until about seven o'clock the next morning, when one of the choristers, as he was running round the Minster, slipped upon some ice, and while on his back saw smoke issuing from the roof. The alarm was given, but before aid could arrive the choir had been reduced to a mere shell, though, *mirabile dictu*, the priceless store of old stained glass remained almost entirely uninjured. Splendid individual munificence, however, was forthcoming, and no time was lost in restoring the choir to its former splendour. Sir Robert Smirke was entrusted with the work, and when we remember that it was in progress between 1829 and 1833—quite at the dawn of the Gothic Revival—it must be considered wonderfully good.

The woodwork of the stalls, archiepiscopal throne

and pulpit is far in advance of its age. Very few fragments remained of the old work, but in the consideration of their design, Smirke was assisted by two of the most talented draughtsmen of the day—Charles Wild and Frederick Mackenzie—who some years before had made accurate drawings of these, and many other parts of the minster for Britton's "Cathedral Series," and it was chiefly by means of the valuable assistance afforded by these artists that Sir Robert was enabled to pledge himself to a faithful restoration of this most interesting and important feature of the work. At the time these repairs were in progress, the removal of the choir screen, which, although it did not escape injury, contributed much towards staying the progress of the fire, was in jeopardy, one party being desirous of removing it entirely, while another advocated the placing of it *behind the great piers of the eastern arch of the lantern!*

Fortunately there was a third party to oppose the destruction or removal of the screen. One of the most strenuous in their exertions to procure its retention was Etty the painter.[1] He was a native of York, and his love of the nude did not prevent his admiration for everything connected with the old minster. Any meddling, he said, carried its own condemnation with it, for grandeur and magnificence arise not only from a just proportion of parts in relation to each other, but also not a little belong to length and magnitude.

[1] It was owing in a great measure to Etty that the retrochoir of St Saviour's Cathedral, Southwark, was preserved when the approaches to London Bridge were being made in 1829-31.

The organ anciently stood over the choir door, but was removed thence by order of Charles I., and placed opposite the Archbishop's throne, the King giving for reason that it spoiled the prospect of the fine east window from the body of the church. However, in 1688 it was brought back to the screen, Archbishop Lamplugh and the Earl of Strafford contributing to the charge of it. Of course this organ perished in the fire of 1829, but was immediately rebuilt under the direction of Dr John Camidge—one of the three organists of that name who held the post at York Minster for a hundred and three years—by Elliot and Hill.

It was first used at the re-opening of the choir, 6th May 1832, remaining in its original state until 1859, when it was rebuilt by Messrs Hill under the superintendence of Dr E. G. Monk, then organist of the minster. In 1902, it underwent a thorough renovation at the experienced hands of Messrs Walker & Sons. The destroyed organ, originally a work of Dallam, had been rebuilt in 1803 by Green. On the day of his dire deed, the wretched man Martin attended the afternoon service, and there and then made up the thing he called his mind to destroy the organ. He said: "While I was at prayers that afternoon, I thought it was merely deceiving the people that the organ made such a noise of buzz, buzz. Says I to myself, 'I'll have thee down to-night. Thou shalt buzz no more.'"

A short time before the fire, Vincent Novello, to whom English Church musicians are so deeply indebted, rather than wait the pleasure of a dilatory scribe, had made copies of four of Purcell's Anthems and his Evening Service in G minor, the MSS. of which, together with many other treasures in the

music library at York, perished in the conflagration.

The beautiful engraving by Turrell from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie in Britton's "History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of York," and the plates in Drake's "Eboracum," published in 1736, furnish us with good ideas of the appearance of the choir at different times previous to 1829. Drake's view is particularly valuable, showing as it does the large pieces of tapestry suspended against the open Perpendicular screen behind the high altar, together with the Renaissance pulpit and other interesting details. From this source we learn that in winter, from All Saints' Day to Candlemas, it was customary to light the choir for evening service by seven large chandeliers, or, as they are technically termed, "branches."

These handsome *instrumenta* dated for the most part from the seventeenth century, and were the gifts of several individuals who loved their church, "and thought gold well spent to make her beautiful with piety." In addition, a small wax candle was fixed at every other stall. These, with two large tapers upon the altar, were all the light made use of.[1] But on the vigils of particular Holy Days, the four greater dignitaries had each a branch of seven candles placed before them at their stalls. Such testimony to the dignity with which the services at York Minster were carried out in those days, is most valuable and interesting.

Twice during the last century did this glorious building fall a prey to the devouring element. On

[1] The choir was first lighted with gas in 1824.

20th May 1840, at a quarter before nine at night, the south-west tower was found to be on fire, and, in half an hour after, the flames had so far gained ascendency that all chance of saving it was rendered hopeless.

The fire assumed an awfully grand appearance; the successive falling in of the burning rafters and of portions of the roof caused a continuous shower of fire, which a brisk north-easterly wind carried to a great distance over the city. The horror was greatly heightened by the falling at intervals of the fine peal of bells. At near eleven o'clock the fire in the tower appeared to have almost exhausted itself, but between eleven and twelve the roof of the nave began to fall in, and the flames, now having free vent, shot up in vivid columns in the air, whilst the painted windows, rich in the symbols and recollections of the "olden time," displayed their bright and variegated transparencies, a melancholy contrast to the destruction around them. About half-past twelve the whole of the roof having fallen in, the flames gradually subsided, and between one and two appeared to be mastered. The destruction, however, was dreadful, every pillar in the nave being more or less injured, and the belfry presenting the appearance of a shell. With the exception of one near the western entrance which was partially destroyed, the stained glass windows sustained but trifling injury, the glorious western one being entirely preserved.

Once more, splendid individual and public liberality were displayed; the work of restoration was placed in the hands of Mr Sydney Smirke, and four years later

the damage had been completely repaired. About the same time the noble Chapter-house was undergoing re-decoration at the hands of Willement, and in 1860 the appearance of the transepts was greatly improved by the clearing of the yellow wash from their Purbeck marble shafts. This was most conspicuous in the Five Sisters of the north transept. The yellow wash had eaten so deeply into the perished surface of the marble, that an application of boiled oil was found necessary in order to remove the last coat. The exquisite grisaille glass in the Five Sisters was protected, about the same time, by an exterior outer glazing. Outside the effect of this is no improvement, but inside the transparency of the glass is in no way diminished.

Great ameliorations took place in the mode of performing the services with the advent in 1862 of Dean Duncombe, and the lighting of the choir by a line of small gas jets, just projecting beyond the string-course which divides the arches of the main arcade from the triforium, was introduced with an effect which was described at the time as almost magical.

In 1871 the state of the south transept had become obviously so dangerous as to call for immediate and prompt attention. Mr Street, who, shortly before, had been appointed Diocesan Architect of York, and subsequently Architect to the minster itself, found upon examination that the weight of the roof had thrust the clerestory walls considerably out of the perpendicular, with the natural consequence that the groining had spread, while the southern façade was in a sad state of

neglect, and much disfigured by additions of debased eras.

"If," said Mr Street, "I had not rebuilt the clerestory of the south transept it would have fallen. Much of the external stonework was so effectually tooled and redressed many years ago, that in parts hardly any of the untouched face of the original stonework remained."

By care and great pains the original mouldings were found almost everywhere, and these were substituted by Street for the bad copies of an ignorant period.

There is no finer or more classical work in England than the south transept of York Minster, and it was no common satisfaction that a piece of work for which Street ever professed the deepest admiration should owe its present magnificent appearance, firm as of yore, and freed from modern alterations, to his own care and skill. Writing in 1874, when the work was complete, Street said: "The transept of the minster looks so magnificent now; I think more interesting and striking than anything we have seen in France, and on such a grand scale! The Dean is charmed with it," etc.

Since then, extensive repairs have been going on at different times on the exterior of this grand edifice. The stone could not resist the action of the city smoke, which impregnates the atmosphere and has caused the material to moulder and perish. This defect, however, is being gradually remedied, the works of reparation long in hand on the west front are nearing their accomplishment, and it is now

proposed to complete the flying buttresses on the south side of the nave, and the pinnacles and flying buttresses on the north as well. That the buttresses once existed has been made evident, both from examination of the building itself and from old prints of the minster in the library.

Students and *dilettanti* of ancient stained glass will have their tastes gratified, not to say glutted, at York. In no other English cathedral has the coeval vitreous decoration been so completely preserved from the intemperate zeal of the Reformers, or the military Puritans who, during the Civil Wars, were most inveterate against stained glass; while the manner in which it came out entirely unscathed from the fires of 1829 and 1840 is indeed miraculous.

Perhaps it owes its escape under Elizabeth, because it contained nothing of a character that was deemed sufficiently "superstitious," but it is certain that its preservation during the great Rebellion is due to the fact that when the city surrendered to Fairfax in 1644, it was with the express stipulation that neither the churches nor public buildings should be defaced.

The stained glass at York Minster is not to be valued merely for its profusion, but as illustrating very perfectly the history of its design, which varied considerably with those three great periods of Christian art of which the building affords such noble examples. Coloured engravings of some of this glass are given in Browne's "History of the Minster," published in 1847. Many of them are of great value and interest.

In the latter part of the twelfth century, and the first half of the thirteenth, stained glass was mosaic in its idea, and rather non-transparent than transparent. Still, the drawing and treatment of the material was generally very true to its requirements. Of this period of the art, considerable remains of glass are to be discerned scattered through the clerestory windows of the nave, into which it was shifted at the rebuilding early in the fourteenth century; the earliest specimen is a portion of a Radix Jesse in the second window from the west on the north side of the clerestory.

The period of its execution may be fixed at about 1200. This would make it much earlier than the glass in the Trinity Chapel and Corona at Canterbury, to which it is hardly possible to assign a date anterior to the middle of the thirteenth century.

There is also a good deal of Early English glass, varying in date from the beginning to the middle of the thirteenth century, in the large traceried circle of this window, as well as in those of the five next clerestory windows. We also find some groups of the same period in the lower lights of the fifth and seventh windows counting from the west on the north side, and an Early English subject is inserted in one of the lower lights of the sixth. On the south side considerable remains of First Pointed glass exist in the tracery of all but three of the clerestory windows, and relics of the same epoch are discernible worked up with other of later date in the lower lights.

The lancet windows in the Early English transepts are singularly deficient in coeval painted glass.

But in the northern one we have an instance of that attempt to make stained glass simply an architectural decoration, schemed out by the architect, forming part of his entire plan and harmonising with the architecture. I refer, of course, to that matchless grisaille work resembling a kind of embroidery or needlework which fills the Five Sisters. The universal admiration which this glass excites is sufficient confirmation of the success with which this great principle has been achieved.[1]

In the Decorated period (1290-1350) the idea was also really semi-Mosaic, the glass transparent, whilst the superiority of the draughtsmanship and the conventional imitation and use of natural forms—generally single figures under lofty canopies of exquisite richness, and sometimes whole subjects in narrow niches on grounds of brilliant colours richly diapered—gave it a great advantage over its predecessor. As illustrations of this, nothing could be finer than the glass in the great western window, and those in the passage leading to the Chapter-house. They date from 1338. The glass in the nave aisles is somewhat earlier.

In the transition from Decorated to Perpendicular, and in the early phase of the latter period, glass followed that of the former one; but in its full

[1] Salisbury Cathedral was entirely filled with stained windows of this description, of which only a few specimens remain, for during the devastations carried on in this church under Wyatt, at the end of the eighteenth century, workmen were actually employed to break out the stained glass from its lead bands for the purpose of melting the metal, after which the shattered fragments were either thrown away in heaps, or pilfered by curiosity-mongers.

development the design gradually became more artistic, attempting to represent Nature as perfectly as on canvas, and consequently the attempt at deep shadows made the glass necessarily often non-transparent, and designs in perspective were continually, but not always, successfully made. But as none of the glass in the choir at York is later than the time of Henry VI., this last-named characteristic is nowhere conspicuous.

As works of special beauty, I would refer to the groups in the great east window, commenced in 1405; to those in the magnificently tall ones lighting the lesser transepts and representing subjects from the lives of St Cuthbert and St William of York; and to the single figures in the third and fourth windows from the east on the north side of the clerestory, which is the earliest Perpendicular glass in the cathedral (c. 1380). Some large figures of St Michael, St Gabriel, and St William, of the Perpendicular period, but inserted in the Early English lancets of the eastern aisle of the south transept, should not be overlooked.

The late Richard Wilton, Canon of York and Rector of Londesborough, alludes to the great east window in the following stanzas,[1] composed after several hours' examination of it with Canon Lord Forester:

[1] To be found in *Lyra Pastoralis*, a selection from successive volumes of graceful verse by Canon Wilton, of which perhaps the most widely remembered is "Wood Notes and Church Bells," published in 1873. Canon Wilton, who died in 1903, was a man of charming character. Well read and gifted with a classical taste and critical insight, his opinion on literary subjects was always worth having.

"With wondering eyes we sit and gaze
Upon the many-jewelled blaze,
Where Art has flung her mingled dyes,
Outrivalling the Orient skies,
Bird, rainbow, flower, and sunset-rays.

"This gorgeous mist, this tangled haze
Clears, and unravels, and God's ways
We see evolve, and purpose wise,
With wondering eyes.

"Sermons in glass the seer portrays:
Seals, trumpets, vials he displays;
The scroll of Time wide open lies,
Things present, past, and future rise;
God's Book our guide we thrid the maze,
With wondering eyes."

Some idea of how little objects of archæological value and interest remaining in our cathedrals and churches were appreciated during the Hanoverian period, may be gleaned from the curt manner in which this unrivalled store of stained glass at York is dismissed by a writer in *The Mirror* of October 1824.

"There is a great profusion of stained glass in this church, which may please those who look for no higher excellence than such as merely results from the manufacture of that article; but should a higher degree of merit be sought for, the spectator will be disappointed. Many ignorantly suppose that the art of painting on glass is lost, but the fine west window of New College Chapel, Oxford,[1] is in itself

[1] "To admit of the insertion of this transparency, the whole of the ancient tracery of this beautiful window was cut and destroyed, while, at an enormous expense, a subject was introduced, two-thirds of which consists of dirty brown clouds,

sufficient to convince the world *that it was never found till now!*"

During the latter part of the eighteenth century the stained glass at York underwent somewhat extensive repair at the hands of Peckitt, who established himself in the city about 1760. Born at Carlton-Husthwaite, near Easingwold, in 1731, he was, according to his own account, entirely self-taught, but it is more probable that he learnt from William Price, who studied under Giles, of York. The latter seemed specially raised up during the reign of Charles II. to keep alive the art which had lain dormant after its brief revival under such liberal patrons as Archbishops Abbott, Laud, and Williams. In 1762 Peckitt executed the east window of Lincoln Cathedral, and two years later the western one of Exeter, both since removed. In 1765 he began to fill the north side of New College Chapel, Oxford, with apochryphal portraits of church dignitaries and worthies, from the designs of Biagio Rebecca.

In 1767 he put glass into the east window of Oriel College Chapel, and in the following year one of the figures in the lancets on either side the south transept door of York Minster was inserted, the other three being bequeathed to the cathedral and erected after his death, which occurred in 1795.[1]

Peckitt declared that he possessed the secret of the

under which are representations of some women having the appearance of third-rate actresses, but who are dignified with the designation of the Cardinal Virtues."—("Pugin on Stained Glass.")

[1] Peckitt was buried in the churchyard of St Martin, Micklegate, and a street in York has been named after him.

early practitioners, and the colours of his windows at York are fine, especially the ruby, in which he excelled, but the backgrounds and accessories of these and other works are such as one might expect from the epoch that witnessed their execution. Yet, despite his crudities, Peckitt must be regarded with interest as forming a link between the Van Linges, Greenbury, Giles, and the Prices, of the Stuart and early Hanoverian periods, and Willement, Wailes, and Hardman of the Gothic Revival.

It is an interesting reflection that with us, there has been no period since the Reformation, in which constructions, either partially in the spirit of Gothic architecture or reproducing some of its details, have not been erected. Love for old Pointed Architecture and its sister arts has never become extinct in England, however miserably they may have been travestied in such works as Fonthill, Ashridge, and Strawberry Hill.

Such allusions to the vitreous art as "the illumined pane, shedding the dim blaze of radiance richly clear," "the sun streaming through the storied windows' holy hue," "the rich reflection of the storied glass," and others which meet us in the writings of the eighteenth-century laureate Warton, attest this fact.[1]

At this time almost the only periodical in which

[1] Dr Parr, the learned divine and critic, and friend of Dr Johnson, was so keenly alive to the importance of that "dim religious light" imparted by stained glass that he employed Eginton, who had established a school of glass painting at Handsworth, near Birmingham, to fill the windows of his church at Hatton with it.

the arts were duly represented was the *Gentleman's Magazine.* Registering as it did all the metropolitan improvements, chronicling all the archæological discoveries, describing old and new churches and their "embellishment" with stained glass, altar-pieces, and what not, a perusal of it is sufficient to show that a far greater interest was shown in the decent adornment of churches a century and a half ago than is generally supposed.

If York Minster is not the most picturesque of our cathedrals, it has a certain popular reputation beyond that of any other in England; and so far as extreme dignity and majesty are concerned, the reputation is well deserved. The view across the great transept is, in its way, unparalleled. It unfolds itself so completely all at once that it is not immediately that the eye can measure the enormous space and the great height with which it has to deal. It is this space and height combined, of course with its real architectural splendour, that gives so much true majesty to the interior of York. No wonder such a church should still remain a bond of union between the many sects, parties, and classes scattered over the three Ridings. Whatever touches the minster, touches the heart of Yorkshire.

CHAPTER III

ST PAUL'S

THERE is no exaggeration in saying that no building in the world is more intensely associated with the city, town, or place in which it stands, than St Paul's is with London.

It is not famous for the same reasons that Westminster or most of the old cathedrals are famous, for it makes but little figure in history, and no memorable deeds have ever been transacted within its walls.

Sovereigns, from Queen Anne to his present Majesty, have visited it to return thanks for victories or for recovery from illness, and these events, together with the funerals of Nelson and Wellington, may be called the only ones connected with the cathedral that can be accounted historic.

Nor has St Paul's claims to be considered a resting place for English worthies like Westminster. Even the old cathedral was never, one would imagine, loved like other churches, and therefore there are few fond memories clinging to the site.

FROM THE NORTH EAST

ST. PAUL'S . . . CATHEDRAL

Yet St Paul's is accepted as the chief religious building of London on all occasions of national joy or humiliation, and is resorted to by all, from the highest to the lowest, and of these occasions there have been not a few since that memorable June day of 1897 when her late Majesty halted at its great western doors to return thanks for the completion of the sixtieth year of her reign.

A little over a generation ago an extraordinary change came over the religious aspect of St Paul's, and what was until then comparatively a mere "sight" has been converted into the spiritual home of the living faith of a people.

Why is it that St Paul's is so looked up to nowadays by everybody? It is on account of that moderation and good sense that has for so many years past characterised all that is done there, and for the manner in which it always rises to the occasion of any important event. In few English cathedrals is Divine Service performed with greater dignity and impressiveness.

It is a beautiful idea that, twice in the course of the day, a man is able to slip out of the thickest throng and bustle of London into this religious atmosphere, to hear the organ and fresh young voices in music, which rises like incense to the dome, lingering "as loth to die," and to witness the ritual of the Church of England carried out with such dignity and completeness:

> "Without, the world's unceasing noises rise—
> Turmoil, disquietude, and busy fears.
> Within, there are the sounds of other years—
> Thoughts full of prayer, and solemn harmonies,
> Which imitate on earth the peaceful skies."

The first church is supposed to have been founded on the site, about 597, by King Ethelbert; or, according to Bede, by Ethelbert and his nephew Sebert. The first bishop was Mellitus, the companion of Augustine. It shows the marvellous permanence of English institutions, that the manor of Tillingham in Essex, with which the church or cathedral was then endowed, continues to this day to form part of the fund for the sustentation of the fabric of St Paul's. This church, which may have been dedicated also to the great apostle of the Gentiles, was destroyed by fire in or about 1087, twelve years after the first English convocation was held in it; but of the kind of building it was, or what it contained, no information has come down to us. A new cathedral was commenced almost immediately by Bishop Maurice, although during his twenty years' episcopate little more than the foundations and substructure were completed. The building was not finished probably in 1136, when it suffered the same fate as its predecessor.

The rebuilding occupied until 1283, great difficulty being found in obtaining funds, thus showing that even then the citizens were not zealous in the cause of St Paul's. But when it at length stood completed, with its length of nearly 600 feet, it must have been a magnificent building. We can form some notion of old St Paul's from the engravings by Hollar in "Dugdale's History," first published in 1658, aided by the valuable series of drawings by Mr E. B. Ferrey, which may be seen in the Trophy Room above the north-west chapel in the present cathedral. Then there are the delightful, but in certain points some-

what conjectural, drawings, published at different times by the late Mr H. W. Brewer. And if in conjunction with these we take for our text, Dean Milman's fascinating "Annals," Longman's "Three Cathedrals dedicated to St Paul in London," and Dr Sparrow Simpson's "Chapters in the History of Old St Paul's," "Gleanings from Old St Paul's," and "St Paul's Cathedral and Old City Life," we can arrive at a tolerably correct idea of that glorious substance which has been irrevocably lost.

The view of the interior of old St Paul's from the western portal, along the Norman nave with its deep-set triforia, lofty clerestory, and continuous shafts supporting the groined roof, must have been superb. From the tall windows of the lantern a flood of light was poured down upon the crossing, shut off from the choir by a richly sculptured screen, to which, necessitated by the crypt below, there was an imposing flight of steps. Over the screen in the dim distance of the long-drawn thirteenth-century choir appeared the glorious rose window, 40 feet in diameter, and paralleled only by two others in England, those of Durham Cathedral and St Margaret's, Lynn. To the tracery of this and the adjoining windows, Chaucer makes allusion in his description of the dissolute "parish clerk Absolon," who, "clad in hosen red and light blue kirtle, with a snowy surplice flowing around his dainty limbs, and

"With Paule's windows carven on his shoes,"

minced through the service of the parish church.

The peculiar feature of old St Paul's was the position of the Chapter-house, an octagon occupying

the centre of a small but beautiful cloister, placed in the angle formed by the south transept with the nave. The cloister had two storeys of open arcades. The Chapter-house, by its tapering proportions and the great length of its windows, far surpassed in exterior beauty the other polygons of English architecture, and had much that was foreign in its character. Some remains of these appendages were discovered in 1879, during the formation of the garden on the south-west side of the cathedral.

Pugin, in his "Treatise on Chancel Screens," paints a glowing picture of ecclesiastical London as it appeared at the close of the fifteenth century. In it he alludes to the cathedral of St Paul, "whose gigantic spire, the highest in the world, rose majestically from the centre of a cruciform church, nearly 600 feet in length, and whose grand line of high roofs and pinnacled buttresses stood high above the group of gabled houses, and even the towers of the neighbouring churches."

Altogether it is clear that England must have possessed in the Middle Ages a cathedral worthy of its capital, and grand as is the successor which has risen out of its ashes, we cannot help feeling regret that such a noble building as mediæval St Paul's should have utterly passed away.

During the reign of Charles I. old St Paul's was tampered with under the name of restoration by Inigo Jones, who reproduced, after a fashion, the grand east window—seven foliated lancets surmounted by a rose—in the church of St Catherine Cree, Leadenhall Street. Under his direction the Late Norman nave was externally transmuted into Renaissance, and

a beautiful but incongruous Italian portico added to the west front. Kent, the architect, described it as known to him in the plans and drawings of its designer as "a noble portico," adding, "I have seen nothing in this country so nobly proportioned and so simply splendid as this portico." It was also called by Wren "an absolute piece in itself." The ill-assorted union of Corinthian columns with the Gothic architecture of the rest of the building must, however, have destroyed all harmony of effect to modern educated eyes. But no such confusion appears to have been made at the time. The church had been restored at a vast expense, and the result seems to have been accepted with unusual praise and admiration.

But the glories of the restored fabric were not for long. Under the Commonwealth, St Paul's fell on dark and evil days. If it would have paid to destroy it, destroyed it would have been. As it was, £17,000 remaining out of the subscriptions for the repairs was otherwise appropriated, and the scaffolding around the tower was assigned to cover the arrears of pay due to Colonel Jephson's regiment.

With the Restoration came renewed care for the cathedral, and it was found, notwithstanding the work carried out under Inigo Jones, to be altogether in a state of insecurity.

Wren was called in to report on what should be done.

He condemned much of the old fabric for bad design and bad workmanship, and at this early stage proposed, instead of the square central tower, "a rotunda bearing a cupola, and then ending in

a lantern," to cover the centre of the church, which was to be rendered more spacious as "a very proper place for a large auditory," and thus, as it were, foreseeing the large congregations which, Sundays and week-days alike, now gather beneath the dome.

The old cathedral having been patched in every style, and Wren's plan for preserving the crazy fabric from still further innovations being under discussion, in 1666 the memorable fire of London cut short these deliberations by placing the venerable pile evidently beyond repair.

> "The daring flames peeped in, and saw from far
> The awful beauties of the sacred quire:
> But since it was profaned by Civil War,
> Heaven thought it fit to have it purg'd by fire."
> —Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis.*

Part of the walls of old St Paul's remained, and Wren fitted up a portion that had been least injured, "between the west end and the second pillars above the little north and south doors," for Divine Service. In 1668 Dean Sancroft asked Wren to prepare a plan, "handsome and noble for a new church," and the result was the model still to be seen in the gallery running above the north aisle of the present cathedral. This was the great architect's favourite design, and it was approved by the king; but the Chapter and some of the clergy, who were wedded to mediæval arrangements, considered it not sufficiently "cathedralesque," because its eastern arm was so short, and there was neither nave nor aisles. Wren was therefore obliged to make another design, "so rectified, as to reconcile as near as possible the

Gothick to a better manner of architecture." This was approved by Charles II., not only because "it was very artificial, proper and useful, but because it might be built and finished by parts," and Wren was authorised to begin with the east end.

Fortunately, he was empowered to make alterations during the progress of the work, and it is to this provision we owe the present St Paul's—a building which in spite of certain technical defects, must be considered the noblest in the style of the later Renaissance that the world can show.

"No man born on this side of the Alps has imitated with so much success the magnificence of the palace-like churches of Italy. Even the superb Louis has left to posterity no work which can bear a comparison with St Paul's" (Macaulay).

It was nearly eight years after the fire ere the ground began to be cleared to put in the foundations. The old masonry was only demolished with great difficulty. Gunpowder had to be resorted to, but alarm having been created by this, Wren had to invent a battering-ram to remove part of the walls.

The first stone was laid, some say by Wren, others by Edward Strong, the master mason, on 21st June 1675, without any display, neither king, bishop, dean, nor even the Lord Mayor being present.

Sir Christopher took great pains to secure a good foundation, saying, "I build for eternity." He had deep borings made, and, coming to a bed of shells which he supposed were amrine, he imagined that the sea had been where the hill is on which St Paul's stands, and that there must have been a frith or bay

between Camberwell and the Essex hills. The shells, however, proved to be a fresh-water formation, and the bed of sand which encloses them will ever be a source of danger to the cathedral, especially at times when much underground work has to be carried out in the neighbourhood.

We have, unfortunately, but few records of the progress of the works at St Paul's, and there are long intervals between each. In 1678 we learn it was the choir which was Wren's particular care; then, six years afterwards, the building is said to be continued with undeviating progress, and in 1687 with unabated activity. If Roger L'Estrange, instead of filling up his newspaper, *The Observator*, with extracts from the Bible, or leaving blank spaces for the correspondence of purchasers, had only now and then observed what was being done at St Paul's, we should have been eternally grateful to him. Up to April 1684, the expenditure amounted to £109,765, 12s. 1d., exclusive of the outlay on the demolition of the old building, which was £10,909, 7s. 8d.

The funds were obtained mainly through coal duties, although there were donations from all parts of the country—Cornwall being a particularly liberal contributor. The name of Charles II. heads the subscription list with £1,000 opposite to it, but there is no proof of its being ever paid. "The King's privy purse," says Dean Milman, "was exhausted, no doubt, by other than pious uses."

The choir was opened for service on 2nd December 1697, the thanksgiving day for the peace on the Treaty of Ryswick.

"William III. had announced his intention of being present, but it was represented to him that, if he persisted in that intention, 300,000 people would assemble to see him pass, and all the parish churches of London would be left empty. He therefore attended the service in his own chapel at Whitehall, and heard Burnet preach a sermon somewhat too eulogistic for the purity of the pulpit. At St Paul's the magistrates of the city appeared in all their state. Compton was, for the first time, seated on a throne rich with the sculpture of Gibbons. When the prayers were over, the bishop exhorted the numerous and splendid assembly. His discourse has not been preserved, but its purport may be easily guessed, for he took for his text that noble song, 'I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord.' He doubtless reminded his hearers that in addition to the debt which was common to them with all Englishmen, they owed, as Londoners, a peculiar debt of gratitude to the divine goodness which had permitted them to efface the last trace of the ravages of the great fire, and to assemble once more for prayer and praise, after so many years, on that spot consecrated by the devotions of thirty generations" (Macaulay).

From that day to this, except when the cathedral has been closed in preparation for any great national function, the daily offering of prayer and praise has never ceased in St Paul's, and it is interesting to observe that the hour of one service—that of Sunday afternoon at a quarter past three—has remained unchanged since the time of Bishop Gibson (1724).

The north-west chapel was opened on 1st February 1698-99, and in 1710, though the precise date has

not been recorded, the top stone of the lantern was laid by the son of the great architect. Forty years had elapsed since the burning of the old cathedral: thirty-five since the laying of the first stone of the new. Three reigns had terminated; a revolution had driven a family from the throne; a dynasty (that of Orange) had received the sceptre and become extinct, whilst the stately pile, "the Corinthian Capital" of London, was slowly growing up. The building of St Peter's at Rome occupied one hundred and forty-five years, under twelve successive architects, during the pontificate of nineteen popes, and aided by the best artists in every department of the fine arts that Italy produced.

St Paul's was begun and finished within forty years, under one Bishop of London, Dr Henry Compton, one architect, and one master mason, Mr Thomas Strong. This is indeed a subject for wonder, when we remember that the work was accomplished, not only within a very short time of that period of general desolation which had broken down every man's landmark and swept away his dwelling-place, but of general laxity in regard to religious matters.

"Set down," says Carlyle, "a brave Sir Christopher in the middle of black ruined stone heaps of mutinous masons, and Irish hodmen, foolish unarchitectural bishops, red-tape officials, idle Nell Gwynn defenders of the faith, and see if he will ever raise a Paul's Cathedral out of all that, yea or no"—disjointed, thoroughly Carlylesque language, but illustrating to the full the difficulties Wren had to contend with from the hour he began the plans until the day

when the highest stone of the lantern was laid in his presence, amid the wondering gaze of all London. The total cost appears to have been £747,661, 10s.

Wren's salary was only £200 a year, yet he was not suffered to receive this in peace. It was supposed that, in order to continue in the enjoyment of this munificent sum, he delayed the works, and in an Act passed in 1696 there was a clause authorising the suspension of a moiety of the surveyor's salary until the church should be finished, "thereby the better to encourage him to finish the same with the utmost diligence and expedition," and it was not until Christmas 1711 that the moiety was paid him.

In other days, as well as in ours, men were unfortunately to be found in authority who were disposed to treat architects as if they were market gardeners. Some time after, a pamphlet was published, asserting that there were frauds and abuses which were sanctioned by Wren, and though Wren replied, and, it was considered by his friends successfully, yet there can be little doubt that the charges were still believed in, and may have led to his ignominious dismissal from his office after forty-nine years of service, and when he was an old man of eighty-six.

Horace Walpole says that afterwards being carried to see St Paul's once a year, it seemed to recall a memory which was almost deadened to every other use. Wren's treatment will, as long as the cathedral endures, remain a disgrace to English officialism.

The mortal remains of the great architect repose

near the eastern end of the south aisle of the crypt,[1] beneath a black marble slab bearing the words:

"Here lieth Christopher Wren, Kt, the builder of this Cathedral Church of S. Paul &c., who dyed in the year of Our Lord, M.D.C.C. xxiii., and of his age xci."

A singularly modest epitaph for so great a man, and that, too, at a period when fulsome phrases abounded.

Built as it was *d'un seul jet*, and at a time when the Pointed styles had run their course, St Paul's presents none of those chronological problems that confront us in a mediæval cathedral raised at different epochs. Yet, with its long-drawn nave and aisles, and its deep, stalled choir, St Paul's is based on a mediæval plan of arrangement. It is a Gothic building in a classic dress. Against this fancied conservatism Wren fought hard and long, and yielded only inch by inch. He was hedged in by barriers of fancied rules, unknown to the mediæval architects from whom they were professedly drawn. Yet all this, though it sadly curbed, did not paralyse the genius of Wren, which yet struggles forth at every possible opening, and might meet most of the criticism of the ancient artist, "What you admire is mine, what you condemn is your own."

A glance at the ground plan of St Paul's will show that it resembles an Anglo-Gothic church of

[1] It has been remarked, "If Westminster Abbey has its Poets' Corner, so has St Paul's its Painters' Corner." Close by the grave of Wren are those of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Benjamin West, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Sir Frederick Leighton, all Presidents of the Royal Academy; Barry, Opie, Dance, Fuseli, Turner, and Landseer.

the largest class, except only in the breadth and fewness of its bays, of which there are four to the nave, and, if we are to include the square-headed one behind the reredos, the same number to the choir.

The usual four piers at the crossing are omitted so as to throw the whole weight of the dome on eight surrounding piers (as at Ely), and the re-entering angles, *i.e.*, those formed by the junction of the nave, choir, and transepts, are strengthened by four massive towers all continued to the height of the clerestory walls, or about 100 feet from the ground. Of these towers, the south-western one contains the stairs leading to the "whispering" and other galleries, while the three others are apportioned as vestries to the Dean and Canons Residentiary, the Minor Canons, and the Lord Mayor.

To the west front, with its portico of coupled Corinthian columns in two tiers, with their breadth and depth of shadow beneath and between, are added laterally, beyond the breadth of the church—as at Wells and Rouen—two bell-towers of symmetrical outline and elegant detail. They rise to double the height of the roofs, and behind, or east of them, are two oblong chapels, co-extensive in height with the aisles, but having rooms over them corresponding to the clerestory. The northern of these is the Trophy Room, now used for rehearsals of music, etc.; the southern is the Library.

On the eight central arches, at the junction of the four arms of the cross, are built two concentric circular walls, the outer supporting a complete colonnade, 140 feet in diameter, admirably contrived

to abut on the inner, which carries the domes. These with their lantern, crowned by a gilt copper ball and cross, rise altogether to *thrice* the height of the roof, or 365 from the ground, 356 from the floor of the church, and 375 from that of the crypt, which, extending beneath the whole length of the cathedral, is of great dignity and impressiveness, beautifully kept, well lighted and warmed, and in some respects the most interesting part of the building.

The great peculiarity of the dome of St Paul's is the invisible conical structure of brick interposed between the inner and the outer domes, resting on the lower circumference of the former, and serving to support the stone lantern, the size and weight of which air-suspended fabric may be conceived from the fact that, if placed on the floor of the church, it would not stand under the ceiling of the nave. The supporting cone is most ingeniously modified at its upper part, to leave eight windows, and support the concentrated weight of the eight masses of the lantern. Its remaining portions, though pierced with numerous apertures, form a mere shell, only two bricks, or 18 inches thick, and its base is confined from spreading by a wrought iron chain embedded in melted lead. The surrounding butments, however, are so well placed and contrived, that this precaution is probably superfluous, as long as they stand complete.

Every part of the building has, like the Gothic ones, two independent coverings, the inner of red brick and the outer of oak framing covered with lead The beautiful outer dome, therefore, cannot be called unreal; it corresponds in structure to the upper roofs

of all the other parts, and is in the most economical, as well as the most beautiful form, for a timber roof to cover such a space. The waste of internal capacity in the unseen spaces between the innermost and outermost dome is not nearly so great as in the roofs of Gothic buildings, and no part of this structure can be said to be like a Gothic high roof or spire, erected for external effect alone, except the lantern. This indeed is so, for the highest windows visible from within, and which appear to form a lantern, are really situated below its base, in the upper part of the brick cone, and are ingeniously lighted from sunk areas, invisible from without, in the summit of the timber dome.

Simple ratios prevail between all the leading dimensions of St Paul's, and especially the ratio of 1 to 2, between the breadth and height of openings, avenues and spaces. Thus, the windows are chiefly 12 feet wide by 24 high; the aisles 19 feet in clear width by 38 in clear height; the nave and choir 41 by 84 (a deficiency of only 1 foot in breadth); the great internal narthex or space between the chapels at the west end is 47 feet square by 94 high; and lastly, the dome area is 108 feet in clear width by 216 high.

On the exterior, it should be observed that the aisles are included entirely in the height of the lower order of pilasters; the upper, with its blind niches, is merely a wall or screen erected, it is generally supposed, to hide the unclassical forms of flying buttresses. This, it must be conceded, was an illegitimate mode, for which Wren is not to be blamed, but those who imposed upon him the task of

combining an interior based on Gothic models with a classical exterior.

This falsehood has induced the shallow criticism in every mouth that there should have been but a single order, 90 feet high, instead of two of 50 and 40 feet. Now this would, in this place, have been a further deception, for the building is not, as Wren's own designs were, of one story, but of three, answering in every way to the Gothic aisles, triforium, and clerestory. Next, an order, 90 feet high, would not only have been immeasurable by the eye, but could not be, with any material this country affords, so erected as to be really what it affects to be.

The present orders are *real*, like those of the ancient temples; the 90 feet order would have been a *sham*, for it would be impossible to make a real one on that scale. Lastly, to fancy the building would have been grander dressed in this colossal counterfeit is utterly at variance with all experience, first at a distance, by the number of parts; afterwards, when we come nearer, by their individual size.

The semi-circular porticoes at the transepts are highly beautiful, and the detail within them is the purest and most classical in the building.

On the exterior of the apse it should be observed that the lower windows, although deeply revealed internally, are here set flush with the walls; while those in the upper tier are recessed in a kind of loggia formed in the thickness of the wall.

Viewed, let us say, from the north or south-east corner of the churchyard, no classic building in all

the world presents so harmoniously and so perfectly proportioned or so elegant a sky-line as does St Paul's.

The noble dome rises from the intersection of the transepts, and broods over the lower roofs at an altitude commanding every lesser feature of the design, and transforming every line of it into accessories, and to the production of a *tout ensemble* of consummate beauty.

The charm of St Paul's dome resides chiefly in its visible graduation from the tower-like projections already alluded to, the plain drum, surmounted by the handsome peristyle of columns, encircling the base of the dome. The roof of this peristyle forms the gallery, from beneath which deep shadows are thrown, and mass is gained by solid buttresses of masonry filling the spaces between a pair of columns at intervals, while balustrades to the "Stone Gallery" embracing all, add to its fine effect.

It is this feature which supplies to St Paul's the strength and boldness and play of outline and of light and shade, which is lacking in St Peter's at Rome, where the cornice is broken round the attached columns, and where the shadows are frittered away in ineffective patches. Thus, the opportunity of increasing the height and width of the drum being lost, the result has been that, great as is the dome of St Peter's, it is not big enough to be seen as a whole at less than a mile distant.

One of the grandest views of St Paul's dome is to be had from the east end of Watling Street.

The finest parts of the interior of St Paul's are its four extremities. The great unbenched space at

the west end of the nave, opening on either hand into the Morning Prayer Chapel, and that now being furnished for the Order of St Michael and St George,[1] is uncommonly grand. Here the arches opening from the central space into the aisles, and thence into the chapels, spring from isolated columns, which give an idea of the enchanting effects that would have resulted from an occasional use of such members (in the small order) elsewhere, as is done throughout at St Peter's. Another fine feature of this bay is the manner in which Wren has set it back a little way beyond the line of the other three in the nave, thus accentuating this particular portion of the cathedral. Some of Gibbons' choicest carving may be looked for in the screens separating the chapels from the aisles.

In the other three bays of the nave, as indeed throughout the rest of the cathedral, the piers are huge square masses, relieved on each face by two Corinthian pilasters.

That the interior of St Paul's has several technical faults it is not to be denied, but as they only present themselves to the practised eye, it is necessary to allude to only one of them. This is the ugly isolated piece of entablature which ekes out the height between the capital of the great fluted pilaster between each bay, and the rich and elaborate cornice

[1] When the furniture of this chapel, originally the Consistory Court, is completed, St Paul's will possess five altars. The four at present are, the High Altar in the choir, that in the Jesus Chapel within the apse; St Faith's altar in the crypt, and St Dunstan's in the north-west chapel. In the old cathedral the last-named altar was at the east end of the south choir aisle.

THE NAVE LOOKING EAST

ST. PAUL'S . . . CATHEDRAL

below the "attic," which here takes the place of the Gothic triforium. From the number of ways in which it might have been avoided this entablature is the more inexcusable. Wren has also been censured for the use of the "attic." Whether its 19 feet add anything to the effective height, which appears much the same as if the vault sprang at once from the entablature, is open to question, but this is one of the many instances in which the grammatical rules invented to regulate classical architecture seem to get the better of all common-sense.

There is no doubt that this member plays a useful part in the construction of the building; and Wren in this instance, as in several others, permitted his good sense and imagination to run away with his rules.

It may surprise some, and startle others, when it is affirmed that the first view of the interior of St Paul's entering from the west is disappointing. This has been doubly so since 1860, when the high screen enclosing the choir and supporting the organ was removed, rendering the chief defect of the church looking eastwards—a certain want of concentration —more than ever apparent. Here we have a nave of moderate width but considerable length, opening into a vast area, beyond which comes what is apparently a long contracted passage rather than a continuation of the nave. To prove the truth of this statement, it is only necessary to station ourselves just inside one of the transept doors, and look across the church. Here there is no sense of contraction, everything concentrates in and leads up to the dome area, proving that Wren was, at least

as far as architectural effect goes, right in protesting against the long Gothic choir.

That the organ-screen can ever be rebuilt as was proposed in 1871, there is not the least likelihood now, the present ritual arrangements appearing to give satisfaction. But particularly since the erection of the reredos, St Paul's exclaims for a high yet light and open screen, which shall partake somewhat of the character of those dividing the sanctuary from the choir aisles.

The low screen between the dome area and the choir is a magnificent piece of iron work of the same date as the cathedral, and, until the altar was brought forward to its present position thirty-three years ago, enclosed the sanctuary. For more than twenty years it lay by disused, a choir screen being extemporised out of the brass railings which surrounded the lectern, when it stood in the centre of the choir. With the rearrangement of the fittings in 1871-72 the lectern was placed just westward of the choir steps, but this position not being found favourable for hearing, it has been removed to the north-east angle of the dome contiguous to the screen. The lectern at St Paul's is the largest, and in many respects the finest, eagle lectern in England. It was executed between 1718 and 1720 by Jacob Sutton, an eminent brass founder of that day, and measures nearly 8 feet 6 inches from the black and white marble pavement of the church to the crest of the bird, which is 2 feet 9 inches in height, the breadth across the wings being 3 feet 3 inches. The eagle itself, designed *ad naturam*, is of the highest merit. While seemingly stooping to sustain its

sacred burden, "ad astra tendens," it is most spirited and life-like, the plumage and the details being admirably executed.

The pulpit, opposite, was erected in 1861 as a military memorial. It is from the designs of the late Mr F. C. Penrose, for many years the cathedral surveyor, and deserves attention for the variety and beauty of the marbles used in its construction. The yellow is mostly Sienna, but there is a little of the ancient Gallio Antico brought from Rome. The green is Greek, from the Island of Tenos. The red columns are of Cork marble, the dark purplish ones of Anglesea, and the grey of Plymouth. The original design included a gracefully sweeping marble staircase on the south side, and at the summit of the steps was to have been an eagle for the Lessons, supported on a pillar; but this part of the plan, which would have greatly enhanced the effect of the pulpit, was never carried out. Indeed the work remained in a very incomplete state until the erection of the present choir screen, when in connection with the works necessary for raising it upon its marble plinth, the existing staircase of Sicilian marble was added.

It should be mentioned that the floor of the choir was not raised until 1871, when the choir stalls were removed from midway up the choir to their present position at the verge of the dome.

To gain some idea of how the great length is improved by being broken by a screen, stand at the west end of the south nave aisle. Here you have the effect of almost illimitable distance, increased, no doubt, by the very charming old brass chandeliers, which, after a long period of banishment, have lately

been suspended in the nave aisles at the distance of each bay. Another feature that relieves the monotony of the long-drawn aisles is that series of apsidal recesses which were forced on Wren by the Commissioners. Some of the finest monuments in the cathedral occupy these niches, notably those of Sir Frederick Leighton and General Gordon in the north aisle of the nave, and those of Dean Milman, and Bishops Blomfield and Jackson in the choir. The bronze statue of Bishop Creighton (d. 1900), which faces the recumbent effigies of his predecessors, Blomfield (d. 1857) and Jackson (d. 1885), was unveiled by the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1st July 1905.

It is the work of Mr Hamo Thornycroft, R.A., and represents the great scholar standing, wearing rochet and cope, with a pastoral staff in his left hand, and his right raised in benediction. On the mosaic background against which the statue stands, are a mitre and some books, emblematic of the two sides of Dr Creighton's career — his devotion to the Church, and to the study of history. Below the emblems is the inscription, "He tried to write true history," a motto which, it is said, the Bishop wished to be placed upon his monument.

That it was not intended that the interior of St Paul's should exhibit the cold, desolate, and chilling appearance it wore for nearly two centuries, is not a matter either of conjecture or of *à priori* probability. Wren's designs for its decoration are still, not in their entirety, but in their main features, extant. He intended to "beautify" the interior "with the more durable ornament of mosaic work which strikes the

eye of the beholder with a most magnificent and splendid appearance, and which, without the least decay of colours, is as lasting as the building itself." He went so far as to lay plans for the introduction of the art from Italy; he and Bishop Compton negotiated for the purchase of Levantine marbles. But in this, and everything else, Wren was thwarted, not only by the squabbling of the Commissioners of the building, but by envy and detraction, by meanness and calumny. His life enriched the reign of several princes, and disgraced the last of them; he died in retirement, the victim of a cabal, and for two centuries his *magnum opus* remained bare and unfinished as he left it, with the exception of Sir James Thornhill's pictures in the dome, executed at forty shillings a yard square, and put up against the great architect's wishes.

Early in the eighteenth century, Joshua Price, one of a family of glass painters, to whom are due the east window of St Andrew's, Holborn, the great west window and the northern rose at Westminster Abbey, and the east window of Merton College Chapel, Oxford, was extremely anxious to put stained glass into the central window of the upper tier in the apse of St Paul's. As this fact is not very generally known, I have thought it interesting to quote "Price's Petition," a copy of which it has lately been my good fortune to have met with. It runs thus:

"To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled. The humble Petition of Joshua Price, Glass Painter, sheweth, That Whereas the Ancient Art of Painting and Staining of Glass hath been much Discouraged for many years, and

which in all Probability had been irrecoverably lost, if the Petitioner with an indefatigable Industry and vast Expense, both of Time and Money, through the Blessing of God, had not happily recovered it. Your Petitioner has now attained to so great a Perfection in Painting and Staining of Glass, that he has now carry'd the Delicacy of this Art to the height of Improvement, of which his Performances for His Grace the Duke of Leeds, for Christ Church and Merton Colleges in Oxford and many other Places in this Kingdom have had undeniable Proofs.

"And whereas the Ornamenting of the Cathedral of St Paul's is now under your present Care and Consideration, your Petitioner most humbly Requests you will afford him this seasonable Opportunity to undeceive an unbelieving Age in this Particular, and that by your Encouragement, You'll be pleased to admit him to the Honour of shewing his Talent, in the upper Window towards the East, by painting the Figure of St Paul, which Ornament Proportioned thereto, for the further Beautifying that Pompous and admired Structure, the Charge whereof will be justly worth One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, And the Petitioner, as in Duty bound, shall ever Pray.

"Joshua Price, Glass Painter at his House in Holbourn, near Hatton Garden."

However, nothing appears to have come of this petition, and St Paul's remained totally destitute of stained glass until 1867, when Mr Thomas Brown, of the publishing house of Longmans & Co., presented that which fills the great west window.

A design for the decoration of the dome, which is supposed to have had more or less of Wren's approval, was put forth when the works had made considerable progress, and what these were like we

may judge from an engraving of Emmett's, published in 1702, now in the Gardner Collection. Equally interesting are the originals of Sir James Thornhill's sketches for the decoration of the eight great pendentives of the dome. They were acquired early in 1874[1] by William Burges, the distinguished Gothic architect, who about this time had been commissioned to prepare designs for the entire decoration of the cathedral. Like other sketches by Thornhill, they are remarkably free, and, notwithstanding their want of elaboration, are most vigorous and expressive, and worthy of one of the Italian masters. Whether Wren was aware of these studies, and how far he approved of them, it would be interesting to discover. The figures of the Evangelists are differently treated from those which appear in the spandrels in Emmett's engraving. At any rate, in 1717 (the date on Thornhill's sketch) Wren must have had little control over the works in St Paul's, as that was the year of the dispute about the balustrade, which surmounts the exterior of the cathedral, and in the following year he was dismissed from office.

Still, these sketches are important as indicating that in the early days of the present structure, a scheme of decoration was suggested more comprehensive than is generally supposed; for it is quite possible that other sketches by Thornhill are still in existence, and may one day come to light.

In Seward's "Anecdotes," published in 1798, we

[1] Mr Parsons, bookseller, of Brompton Road, of whom Burges bought these sketches, stated that he had purchased them at the sale of Sheriff Valentine's collection. Subsequently Burges presented them to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's.

find, under the head of "Sir Christopher Wren," the following statement:

"Sir Christopher was much impeded and harassed in his great work of St Paul's by the care of expense in the Curators of it. . . . He wished the cupola to have been painted in mosaic, a kind of painting as durable as the place itself. . . . The effect of decoration on the interior of the church may be observed by inspecting a plate published some years ago by Mr Gwyn, in which the dome and the parts under it are seen as ornamented according to the intention of Sir Christopher."

This imaginative print, a copy of which is in my possession, is in the Royal Library British Museum. It is dedicated to George, Prince of Wales, afterwards George III., and is described as a "Section of St Paul's Cathedral, decorated agreeably to the original intention of Sir Christopher Wren," and inscribed "with all humility by his Royal Highness' most devoted and most obedient humble servants, Sam Wale, John Gwyn, Proprietors." It is dated May 27th 1755.[1]

Twenty years after the publication of this print, a proposition originated with the Royal Academy for decorating the interior of St Paul's. The Dean and Chapter gladly assented to the idea, but opposition had to be encountered from other quarters. At that time (1773) the Dean of St Paul's was Dr Newton, Bishop of Bristol, a great lover of pictures, and a warm advocate of the scheme. George III. was delighted at the idea. But the trustees of the

[1] It is questionable whether these decorations, which are in the "Verrio and Laguerre" style, would find many admirers at the present day.

cathedral, Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Terrick, Bishop of London, were opposed to it—the latter violently so—for on the Dean's waiting upon him, and telling him with much exultation of the progress that had been made, vetoed the whole project.

"My good Lord Bishop of Bristol," he said, "I have been already distantly and imperfectly informed of such an affair having been in contemplation; but as the sole power remains with myself, I therefore inform your lordship, that whilst I live and have the power, I will never suffer the doors of the Metropolitan Cathedral to be opened for the introduction of Popery into it!"

That St Paul's suffered no loss through the Bishop's sturdy Protestantism is a matter upon which we may congratulate ourselves. "I confess," says Dean Milman in his "Annals," "I shudder at the idea of our walls being covered with the audacious designs and tawdry colouring of West, Cipriani, Dance, and Angelica Kauffman"—these being the five Academicians who, with Sir Joshua Reynolds, had volunteered to carry out the scheme.

This project having fallen through, another century elapsed, and beyond the erection of a few feeble monuments, nothing whatever was done to decorate the interior of St Paul's, and the vast expanse of dome and nave remained bare, cold, and voiceless until 1858.

Early in that year the Dean of Westminster—Dr Trench, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin—sought to reanimate the long silent nave of his glorious abbey church by the establishment therein of special Sunday Evening Services, the first of which

was held on 3rd January. A little later in the same year, the Bishop of London, Dr Tait, wrote to the Dean of St Paul's, advocating the setting on foot of a similar service beneath the dome, for the benefit chiefly of those large masses of people whom it might be impossible to reach in any other way. Dean Milman was one of the most accomplished literary men of his day, and if he was not an artist, he was penetrated with artistic feelings, and was the first to set about the real work of completing a building whose beauties he never tired of pointing out to the visitor. Not only was the Dean desirous of seeing such decorations introduced into the cathedral, which, to use his own words, "may give some splendour, while they would not disturb the solemnity or the exquisitely harmonious simplicity of the whole," but to adapt it for public worship on a larger and more comprehensive scale.

Milman has uttered his love for the magnificent church over whose destinies he presided for nearly twenty years, in that posthumous production of a pen to which English literature owes so much—the "Annals of St Paul's Cathedral."[1] In this fascinating volume, which has formed the groundwork for later treatises on the same subject, we perceive no falling

[1] It appeared in 1869, the year following the Dean's death.

From the seclusion of the Deanery at St Paul's, Milman gave to the world that "History of Latin Christianity" which will ever remain a classic on our shelves. He will, however, be most widely remembered by such hymns as "Ride on, ride on in Majesty," "O help us, Lord, each hour of need," and "When our heads are bowed with woe." The bent figure of the Dean, as it closed the daily procession into the choir of the cathedral, is among the writer's earliest recollections of St Paul's.

off nor deficiency in any of the qualities which distinguished the previous works of its author; for it is learned; rising, when occasion demands, to eloquence; possesses in a high degree that imaginative faculty without which no historical narrative, however stirring or important may be the times of which it treats, can fail to be dull; and contrived so as to bring the reader into contact with almost all the most important events in Church and State which occurred from the foundation of St Paul's to the Dean's own day.

Comprising as it did two objects, which, if not incongruous, were scarcely homogeneous, the good Dean's design to some extent was a failure. It was not decided enough for Churchmen of the rapidly growing advanced school, nor had popular enthusiasm been raised to the requisite pitch.

A considerable sum was collected, but it was not very well spent. Wren's choir stalls and organ screen were needlessly disturbed; a huge unsightly organ was introduced at great expense into the south transept, and a pulpit of varied marbles was erected for the dome services;[1] a little indifferent stained glass was inserted, together with an intermittent

[1] The first Sunday Evening Service in St Paul's was held on Advent Sunday, 28th November 1858, when the enormous congregation and the cordon of gas round the dome (used for the first time at the Duke of Wellington's funeral in 1852), served to bring out more than ever the glorious proportions of Wren's masterpiece. The Bishop of London preached, and a copy of the leaflet containing the three hymns sung during the service is in the writer's possession. At first these Sunday Evening Services were held only from January to Easter, but in 1872 they were made continuous, the large congregations who weekly assemble testifying to their unwaned popularity.

use of gilding; some timid polychromy was attempted in the apse and last bay of the choir; and two out of the great spandrels of the dome arches were filled with mosaic pictures. But as regards the performance of Divine Service, little or no improvement took place. However, enough was done to show that more must be done, and more completely; and the expenditure on an avowed experiment was not without its value.

Such was the state of affairs, religious and artistic, when, in 1868, Dean Milman died, and was succeeded by Henry Longueville Mansel, whose special power lay in the regions of mental philosophy. If, as Dean, Mansel took no great share in promoting ritual ameliorations at St Paul's, he at any rate placed no bar in the way of those who held more definite theological opinions. His tenure of the Deanery lasted only three years, but it was marked by the death of several old members of the Chapter—notably Archdeacon Hale, and Revs. Thomas Dale and Henry Melvill, all Canons Residentiary. They were Churchmen of the old-fashioned school, and content to let matters rest at St Paul's pretty much as they were. Their places, however, were filled by men of quite a different calibre, who spared no pains in awakening Englishmen to the sorry state, both religious and artistic, of the cathedral, and in stimulating them to greater exertions, not only for improvement in the mode of carrying out the services, but for its more worthy furniture and decoration.

In 1870 Dean Milman's scheme, which had languished from dissatisfaction with what had been done under it, was revived, and with some force

and emphasis which seemed to ensure success. On 13th July of that year, a meeting was held at the Mansion House, when Mr Gladstone and others urged the claims of St Paul's in such eloquent language, that a large sum was immediately subscribed, and the work of decorating the cathedral received a fresh accession of strength.

Dean Mansel died in 1871, just when a commencement had been made of improving the ritual and choral arrangements of the choir, and was succeeded by Rev. R. W. Church, whose preferment from the almost unknown village of Whatley, near Frome, took everybody by surprise.[1] But the wisdom of Mr Gladstone's choice soon became apparent, for under Church and his indefatigable coadjutors, Gregory, Liddon, Lightfoot, and Claughton, a vista of possibilities was opened for St Paul's, of which perhaps we have not yet seen the end.

No scheme for the decoration of the cathedral having been decided upon, it was thought advisable to expend a portion of the sum subscribed at the Mansion House meeting in a more seemly arrangement of the sanctuary, and such a redistribution of the choir fittings as would make the dome space available for service, Sundays and week-days alike.

But to explain how these various alterations came about I must imagine myself standing with the reader

[1] Something of its special character, as well as of the wider aspects of Church's influence in London, may be learnt from the masterly appreciation of him by Canon Scott Holland, who during the Dean's life was intimately associated with him alike as friend and colleague, in the third part of "The Life and Letters of Dean Church," edited by his daughter, Mary C. Church.—(Macmillan & Co. 1895.)

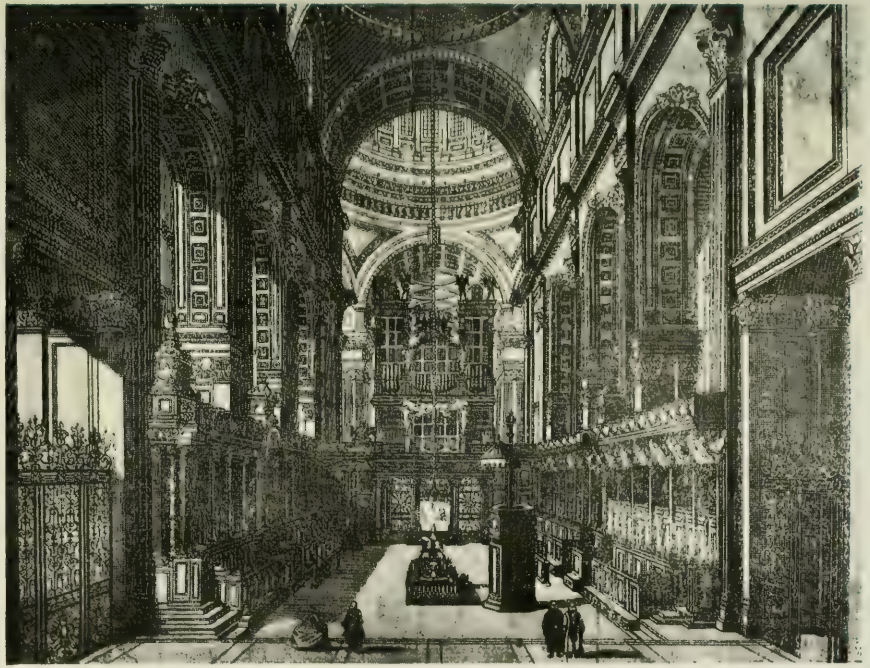
under the dome in the year 1859, the last that saw the choir of St Paul's exactly as it was arranged at the end of the seventeenth century, with its matchless array of stalls and bishop's throne carved by the masterly hand of Grinling Gibbons, and returned at the west end on either side of a Corinthian-pillared screen supporting the organ, whose grandly carved case has been preserved through all the changes effected in its position during the last five-and-forty years. Entering the choir from beneath this screen, we saw on our right hand the stalls of the Dean and the Archdeacon of Essex; to our left, those of the Archdeacon of London and the Precentor. The three last-named stalls, however, being but rarely occupied by the dignitaries whose titles they bore, were assigned to the three Canons Residentiary, who, up to a certain time, held prebendal stalls in addition, their proper seats being in the several stalls bearing the names of their prebends.

The second of the south lateral, or Decani, stalls was assigned and inscribed to the Treasurer; the Archdeacon of Colchester occupied the twenty-third stall, near the extremity of the same range. Corresponding stalls on the north or cantoris side were for the Chancellor and Archdeacon of Middlesex—the stalls of prebendaries following on, on both sides, in the same order as at present. Over the stall of each prebendary was inscribed the name of the manor or estate from whence his endowment was derived, together with the Antiphon (in Latin) of one of the five Psalms he was bound by the ordinance of Bishop Maurice daily to repeat "privately to the glory of God, and for the more fully answering

ST. PAUL'S . . CATHEDRAL

THE CHOIR
LOOKING WEST

In the Eighteenth Century



the intention of the founders and benefactors." Each prebendary is still admonished on his installation to remember these Psalms. On the south side, the range of stalls was broken by one of greater enrichment for the Bishop of London, where he sat when not taking an official part in the service. Corresponding to it on the north side was the seat of the Lord Mayor. The Episcopal Throne terminated the southern range towards the east. The pulpit stood at the east end of the choir, near the northern range of stalls, and in the midst, from the beautiful white marble pavement, rose the great brazen eagle lectern surrounded by railings of burnished brass, in which (facing east) was placed the desk for the two minor canons to chant the Litany from. The square-headed bay, on either side—behind the present altar-piece—was filled with finely wrought iron grilles, and the Holy Table stood, slightly elevated, within the apse. Painting or stained glass there was none; neither was there one of those imposing altar-pieces, rich in cherubim, festoons, palm branches, and figures of Moses and Aaron, with which so many of the city churches are equipped. The limewood of the stalls and organ-case struck the only note of colour, save some feeble painting on the pilasters of the apse.

Concerning the service in the choir of St Paul's, the Hon. C. F. Greville, writing in his "Journal of the Reign of William IV.," under date 1st December 1834, says:

"Went to St Paul's yesterday to hear Sydney Smith[1] preach. He is very good; manner impressive,

[1] Sydney Smith, one of the most delightful personalities of his age, was Canon Residentiary of St Paul's from 1831

voice sonorous and agreeable; *rather* familiar, but not offensively so; language simple and unadorned; sermon clever and illustrative. The service is exceedingly grand, performed with all the pomp of a cathedral, and chanted with beautiful voices; the lamps, scattered few and far between throughout the vast space under the dome, making darkness visible, and dimly revealing the immensity of the building, were exceedingly striking. The cathedral service thus chanted and performed is my *beau ideal* of religious worship—simple, intelligible, and grand, appealing, at the same time, to the reason and the imagination."

Nathaniel Hawthorne, too, in that delightful book "Our Old Home," refers in appreciative terms to the choir service at St Paul's in 1855, mentioning the "screens or partitions of oak cunningly carved," and the "small white-robed choristers" who were "flitting noiselessly about, making preparations for the service, which by and by began." Mrs Harriett Beecher Stowe was likewise much affected by the chanting and service at St Paul's when Wren's choir was as yet untouched, "some of the performers,"

to 1845. His wit, which was inexhaustible, combined with a keen perception of the ludicrous, rendered him a formidable foe. His literary labours were chiefly bestowed upon the *Edinburgh Review*, which he commenced in 1802, in conjunction with Lord Brougham, Lord Jeffery, Sir James Mackintosh, and others, and of which he was editor for a short period. Most people will recollect his own joke of his residing in Edinburgh, and "cultivating literature on a little oatmeal." His collected works appeared in four volumes in 1839. As Canon Residentiary of St Paul's, he took the liveliest interest in the welfare of the fabric, and, as far as his day permitted, did much towards the solemn carrying out of the services.

she observes in her "Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands," "being boys of most beautiful countenances."

And this, I think, will be the most appropriate place in which to introduce a few remarks upon the organ at St Paul's, and the changes it has undergone from time to time.

"It is to be regretted that the information we possess concerning the organ, or pair of organs, in old St Paul's is of so meagre and scanty a character. That an instrument existed there until the Great Fire of 1666 we well know, the builder being William Beton, but all details as to its size and mechanism are completely lost."

"Hollar, the distinguished engraver, has, however, preserved the shape of the case to us in his fine view of the interior of the choir given in the first edition of the 'History of Old St Paul's,' by Sir William Dugdale in 1658. Hollar was a contemporary of Dugdale, and his view, which must have been drawn from actual survey, is no doubt as authentic as any we possess. The organ is depicted as standing above the stalls on the north side, having a very picturesque case of mediæval design, with shutters, and a choir organ in front, all strictly *secundum artem*. This organ escaped the iconoclastic zeal of the Puritans, remaining untouched during the Protectorate, and only falling a victim to the Great Fire of 1666."

"The present organ was built in 1695-97 by Bernard (or, as he is familiarly styled, "Father") Smith, and although it has undergone many alterations since it left his hands, and his matchless tone-work has perhaps met with scant reverence, many of his pipes exist in the present organ."

"For nearly a hundred years the instrument remained unaltered. A swell organ was then

added by a builder named Crang, or, as some accounts have it, Cranz. In 1802, during Attwood's organistship, the organ was taken to pieces and cleaned by Ohrmann, an ingenious Swedish artist, and his partner and son-in-law, Nutt. Both these personages, we are informed by David Hughson in his 'History of London,' lost their lives through a severe cold contracted during the engagement."

"In 1826, while Attwood was still organist, Bishop, a well-known organ builder, added an octave of pedal-pipes which were, for many years, held in great estimation. He also first introduced the Concussion Valves, and thus secured what had never before been achieved—the steadiness of the wind."

"Previous to 1826, in order to preserve the mechanism of the organ from dust, etc., the front pipes of the Great and Choir Organ-cases were furnished with huge glass window-sashes, which were shut down when the instrument was not in use. In several old engravings of St Paul's in the possession of the writer, these contrivances figure in a very prominent manner. Doubtless the idea was borrowed from the design of the organ-case in the old cathedral, where shutters, like those of a triptych, concealed, at certain times, the pipes from view. Some portions of the mechanism, for raising and letting down these sashes, may be seen attached to the oak-work of the present organ at this day."

"Bishop again improved the organ in 1849, adding a very beautiful swell extending in compass down to gamut G—*i.e.* the lowest G of the bass stave. A new keyboard was at the same time introduced, the colours of the keys having previously been reversed, the long ones being black and the short white. The same builder likewise increased the compass and efficiency of the pedal organ, and placed

in the Great Organ, for the first time, the *clarabella* stop, his own very beautiful invention."

"In the above state, the St Paul's organ remained until the year 1860, when the screen and return-stalls were removed. It was then rebuilt under the middle arch of the choir on the north side. The manuals were at first placed in the stalls, but this situation being attended with some inconvenience, they were, in 1863, removed to the side of the organ in the gallery. This portion of the work was entrusted to the late Mr Henry Willis."[1]

This same eminent artist was entrusted with the complete rebuilding of the organ when, in 1871-72, it was removed, and placed, as we see it now, a half on either side of the entrance to the choir, as in Milan and some other Continental cathedrals. Since then it has undergone great alterations and additions, and at the present writing may be said to have no equal in this country. The rebuilding of 1871-72 was carried out under the direction of a sub-committee, consisting of Messrs E. J. Hopkins, John Goss, and George Cooper.

"At the rebuilding of 1871-72 it was judiciously determined to retain all the pipes of Father Smith's which were in good condition. Many of these proved to be quite sound; a fact which may be accounted for in this way: — Smith was so particularly careful in his choice of wood as never

[1] From "The Organists and Composers of St Paul's Cathedral," by John S. Bumpus, to which the reader is referred for every detail respecting the musical associations of the cathedral.

to use any that had the least flaw or notch in it; and so tender was he of his reputation, as never to waste his time in trying to mend a bad pipe, either of wood or metal; if it had any radical defect he instantly threw it aside and made another."

The following is a list of the organists of St Paul's from the opening of the choir in 1697 to the present time, all of whom, by their services, anthems, chants, and other compositions have enriched the repertoire of Anglican church music:

	Appointed	Died
Jeremiah Clark . .	1695	1707
Richard Brind . .	1707	1718
Maurice Greene, Mus. D.	1718	1755
John Jones . . .	1755	1796
Thomas Attwood . .	1796	1838
		Resigned
Sir John Goss, Mus. D. .	1838	1872 (d. 1880)
Sir John Stainer, Mus. D.	1872	1888 (d. 1901)
Sir George Martin, Mus. D.	the present organist.	

From this list it would be unpardonable to omit the names of the sub-organists, George Cooper (unsurpassed as an accompanist, and player of Bach's fugues, 1843 to 1876); William Hodge (d. 1895); and Charles Macpherson (Sir George Martin's present able and talented coadjutor).

Of the organists of St Paul's three only are buried in the crypt, viz., Jeremiah Clark, Maurice Greene—originally interred in St Olave's, Old Jewry, but very appropriately translated to the cathedral on the demolition of that church in 1888, and placed in the grave of Dr Boyce—and Attwood.[1]

[1] Sir John Goss and Sir John Stainer are each appropriately

The grave of Attwood—"dear old Mr Attwood," as Mendelssohn called him, the favourite pupil of Mozart—is in the crypt, close to the iron gates leading into the space occupied by the tomb of Wellington.

With the sanction of the Dean of St Paul's, Attwood's gravestone was restored in 1900 by the instrumentality of Mr John S. Bumpus. The original inscription had, by the constant tread of many feet, become almost obliterated. Substantially recut, it runs thus—

"Under this stone lie the mortal remains of Thomas Attwood, who was appointed organist of this cathedral, 1796. He departed this life the 24th of March 1838, in the 73rd year of his age. 'Turn Thee again, O Lord, at the last and be gracious unto Thy servant.'"

The above text, which did not form part of the original inscription, furnished Attwood with the words of one of his most beautiful compositions—an anthem written for the solemn service on the day of the interment, 19th November 1817, at Windsor, of the lamented Princess Charlotte. Advantage was taken of the unfilled space below

commemorated by a beautiful mural monument. That of the former is in the crypt, that of the latter near the door leading to the vestry of the Vicars Choral.

Miss Maria Hackett (1785-1874) is appropriately commemorated by a cenotaph in the crypt. For over seventy years she regularly attended the services at St Paul's, and spent the greater part of her time and substance in ameliorating the condition of cathedral choristers throughout England and Wales.

the inscription and text to add a plain Latin cross, similar to those on other graves in the crypt.

According to his expressed wish, Attwood was buried "under his own organ," and the grave is beneath the spot upon which Father Smith's instrument stood from 1697 to 1860.[1]

Although the choir of St Paul's, as originally designed by Wren, was disturbed before photography had become very general, there are numerous engravings extant showing what it was like. Perhaps one of the best is that by Pollard from a drawing by Dayes, representing it looking west on the occasion of George III.'s visit to return thanks for recovery from his first attack of insanity, 23rd April 1789.

Until the alterations of 1860, the screen supporting the organ did not stand immediately under the arch opening from the dome into the choir, but just within the first bay on either side. The intervening space, flanked by the monuments of Nelson and Cornwallis, formed a kind of antechoir separated from the dome space by those heavy iron grilles and gates which now separate the crypt chapel from the vestries of the Vicars Choral.

On its removal, the choir screen was put out of sight, but after the lapse of some years was rescued and placed in halves, one just inside each of the great transept doors, where they may still be seen. The white marble portion in the north transept, with the famous cenotaph to Wren concluding, "Lector, si monumentum requiris, circumspice,"

[1] In the vestry of the Vicars Choral there is an interesting collection of portraits of the organists and other musicians connected at various times with St Paul's.

faced the dome. The wooden half in the opposite transept faced the choir, where it matched the stalls. It should have been remarked that previous to 1858 the service was exclusively confined to the choir. The space beneath the dome was perfectly unencumbered, and, except on such occasions as the annual gathering of the Charity Schools, and on one or two anniversaries of the Festival of the Corporation of Sons of the Clergy, was never used. During the time the Great Exhibition of 1851 remained open, a portion of the nave at its west end was fitted up for service on Sunday afternoons,[1] and an experimental Sunday Afternoon Service was held under the dome on 14th May 1854, the fittings for the bicentenary celebration of the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy [2] having been retained.

"The crowd which assembled in consequence of the announcement," says the *Morning Chronicle* of the following day, "was perfectly astounding. Despite all the attractions which a fine Sunday afternoon in May offers to escape from town, there was a perfect influx into the City, and the whole large

[1] Some very interesting notes upon the organ erected for this series of Sunday Afternoon Services at St Paul's in 1851 are contributed by Mr John S. Bumpus and Mr Henry Gadsby (a fellow-chorister at that time with the late Sir John Stainer, and Mr Warwick Jordan, the veteran organist of St Stephen's, Lewisham) to the *Musical Times* of September 1905.

Steele, in No. 552 of the *Spectator*, suggested that an organ should be placed over the great west entrance, and be constructed on so magnificent a scale, as to "transcend any work of that kind ever before invented."

[2] It was for this occasion that Sir John Goss composed his fine anthem, "Praise the Lord, O my Soul."

area of the cathedral presented the spectacle of a compact, nay, stifling, sea of human heads."

As far as the question of the applicability to congregational worship of a cathedral nave is concerned, the experiment was a complete success, but, sung as it was by an attenuated choir under the conditions which had been provided for a gigantic volume of voice, it was a failure. Still, it had the effect of preparing the way for those Sunday Evening Services under the dome, which were inaugurated four years later.

Previous to 1st May 1851, when it was abolished, there was a charge of twopence for admission to the cathedral, excepting, of course, at the hours of service. Nowadays the area of the church is free without distinction, a small payment being demanded for seeing the crypt, Whispering Gallery, lantern, library, and so forth. In 1851 the charge for viewing the cathedral completely was 4s. 4d. each person.

In connection with this twopenny fee for admission to St Paul's, the following deplorable circumstance happened at the funeral of Fuseli, the painter, on 24th April 1825, as related in Hone's "Every Day Book," vol. ii., p. 551, orig. ed.

"A gentleman, whose intimacy with Mr Fuseli seems to have been overlooked by the managers of the funeral, was desirous of paying the last sad tribute to the remains of his friend. He waited the arrival of the body at the cathedral gate, and after the authorised mourners had alighted, joined with them in following the procession. At the instant that the train from the mourning coaches had entered the great west doors they were slammed

to, from within, against all who bore not the undertaker's habiliments of woe, and it was announced that the rest were to go round to the north door. At that door admittance was refused to all who would not pay 'twopence a piece.' Those who paid twopence were thus permitted to hasten and rejoin the train. The corpse, on being borne down the stairs to the crypt, was then followed as before. Here the doors of the crypt were suddenly thrust against all who were not mourners *ex officio*, and a shilling demanded from each of the sympathising attendants who had not on the funeral garments. Compliance with this further exaction qualified them to see the 'funeral performed.'"

Increased accommodation in the choir was the avowed object in removing the organ screen and rearranging the stalls, so that they should occupy only two bays of the choir. The stalls of the greater dignitaries, which, as I have already explained, stood to the right and left of the entrance, were removed into the sanctuary to form sedilia; and the organ placed above the stalls, on the north side, the position —so it is said—that Wren originally wished for it. Unfortunately, during these rearrangements of 1860[1] no attempt was made to bring the choir and clergy into closer relationship with the congregation beneath the dome. To be sure, a little extra accommodation

[1] St Paul's was seen for the first time open from end to end on Advent Sunday 1860. Dean Milman preached in the morning, and Canon Champneys in the afternoon, from the pulpit in the choir, that portion of the building until 1871 being exclusively used for the morning and afternoon services, of Sunday and week-days. The eloquence of Dale and Melvill drew crowds to St Paul's on the Sunday afternoons of their months of residence.

was gained in the choir, but ecclesiologists had to sit down feeling mortified that an unique post-Reformation choir had been tampered with, and nothing gained in compensation, no attempt whatever being made to improve the services, which continued to be perfunctorily carried out, thereby provoking constant public indignation.

After ten years' existence of this state of things, the Chapter had seriously to consider how they could be remedied. The main question was, where the organ should be placed; and, depending upon this, whether there should be one organ or two for the services of the cathedral. The subject was referred, first of all, to a sub-committee, consisting of some of the chief musical men of the country. Their decision, voiced by Dr Sparrow Simpson,[1] was in favour of removing the organ to the entrance to the choir, dividing it into two parts, and placing the one on the north and the other on the south side, against the blank wall, then occupied by the Nelson and Cornwallis monuments.

[1] Dr Simpson was appointed a Minor Canon of St Paul's in 1861, and, in the following year, Librarian. He became Subdean in 1880, and from 1876 to 1886 held the Succentorship. He died 28th March 1897. As Succentor he worked earnestly and ably for the cause of cathedral music, in which his efforts were so largely guided and assisted by Sir John Stainer.

It is, however, as Librarian of St Paul's that he will be best remembered. He put the Library into thorough order, and knew and loved every book in it. His courtesy and assistance to all using the Library were proverbial. He was a prince among antiquaries, and his works on old St Paul's are exhaustive and authoritative.—(From "The Choristers' School of St Paul's Cathedral," by John S. Bumpus.)

By removing these monuments,[1] and continuing the choir stalls to the verge of the dome, it was found possible to re-erect the organ above the stalls of the greater dignitaries, and so increase its power, without allowing it to extend more than 6 feet from the wall on either side. By adopting this plan, the clergy and singers would be brought towards the west, and the dome and choir would be so connected that one organ would serve for all the sung Offices, while the congregation, although mainly relegated to the dome space, would be able to see, hear, and worship. The decision of the committee in favour of these changes was given in February 1871, and the result was the arrangement which, substantially, we see to-day. The architect under whom these works were carried out was the late Mr F. C. Penrose, and they reflect the greatest credit upon his skill and ingenuity. The present position of Father Smith's organ rendering the great one which had been purchased in 1861, for the dome services, useless, it was, in July 1873, fortunately disposed of. The gallery on which it stood, has been replaced by another supported on tall Ionic columns of marble from Rondone, a district of Serravezza, near Pisa. It is useful for seating purposes on occasions of ceremony, though the upper part is anything but an ornament to the cathedral.[2] On dividing Smith's

[1] They are now in the south transept, in a position exactly corresponding to where they were before, viz., against the square unpierced bay next the dome.

[2] It is to be hoped that among the many improvements that are constantly being made in St Paul's, the Chapter will turn their attention to this unsightly piece of red baize, and substitute

organ, it was necessary to provide another case for the south choir organ. This was supplied, and the carving of it so skilfully executed that the eye of an expert is needed to detect its workmanship from that of Gibbons' original one, which is on the north side and forms a screen for the player.

It was not unnatural that when the decision of the Chapter to rearrange the choir became known, various schemes should have been put forth by architects and ecclesiologists. Among these were Mr J. T. Micklethwaite and Mr Somers Clarke, the present architect and surveyor to the fabric, and the widely travelled and accomplished Street—than whom no architect, Anglo or Roman Catholic, Continental or English, knew so thoroughly and exactly what was required in a cathedral. All these gentlemen advocated the erection of a grand high altar and choir fittings under the dome for Sunday and other great services, replacing Wren's organ and stalls exactly as they were before the changes of 1860, and reserving the choir for the ordinary daily services.[1]

a railing. In its present aspect the top of this gallery is a disgrace to the cathedral.

[1] The scheme, however, was no new one. It had been advocated, though on somewhat different lines, thirty years before in a *brochure*, published in 1839 by Rivington, entitled "A Plan for a more extensive application to Divine Service of the hitherto unoccupied portions of the Cathedrals of England, but more especially of St Paul's Cathedral: A Letter to the Right Rev. the Dean and the Rev. the Prebendaries of St Paul's, by a Clergyman." As a curiosity this pamphlet is worth reading, though many of the suggestions embodied in it were extremely quixotic. It appears to have produced

The idea was grand, and would have done away with what must ever be a drawback to St Paul's, the far-off high altar at the end of a deep choir, Gothic in its elongation. But nowadays, when the week-day services at St Paul's are as largely attended as those on Sunday, such an idea would hardly work well, so that on the whole the arrangements as at present existing may be considered the best and most sensible that could have been adopted.

These works were in the full tide of progress when, early in 1872, came the announcement of the Thanksgiving Service for the recovery of the Prince of Wales from his almost fatal illness of the December previous. Accordingly, nothing was thought of but how to get the choir ready with the greatest expedition for this important occasion, and the result was that much of the work that would otherwise have been carried on to a greater state of completeness had perforce to be of a temporary character. The organ was hardly finished, and the floor of the choir, which had been raised a few steps, was only of boards. But the arrangements of the altar, brought forward to the position it now occupies, considerably elevated, and decently (if not magnificently) apparelled and furnished, gave pleasure to a large section of Churchmen, who hailed even these tokens of an improved ritualism with delight.

no effect whatever, for matters continued to drone on at St Paul's in the same old sleepy way, until Dean Church and his great Chapter stirred the stagnant waters, and made the cathedral what it now is—the centre of the religious life of England.

Sixteen years, however, elapsed before the white marble pavement of the choir was relaid, the staircase added to the pulpit, and the reredos erected, but matters at St Paul's remained by no means stationary during that period, every year witnessing some improvement in the religious and artistic improvement of the cathedral under the wise administration of Dean Church and his "Great Chapter."

It is impossible within such limits to dwell upon all these works in detail, but it would be unpardonable to omit mention of the following: the improvement and strengthening of the choir; the erection of a spacious choir school in Carter Lane, where the forty boys are boarded and thoroughly taught; the institution (through the energies of the late Sir John Stainer) of those great musical services on 25th January (the Dedication Festival) and Tuesday in Holy Week, when selections from Mendelssohn's St Paul and Bach's St Matthew Passion Music are performed by a great body of surpliced singers with orchestral accompaniment; the establishment of a choral Eucharist after Matins on all Sundays and Holy Days; the suspension, in 1878, of a grand peal of bells in the north-western companile, and that of "Great Paul," four years later, in the opposite one; the restoration of the crypt, the adaptation of a portion of it for early and late services, and the formation in its northern aisle of commodious vestries for the Vicars Choral; and the throwing open of the cathedral for great gatherings of choirs, guilds, and associations in connection with the church, thus rendering it in every sense the mother church of a great diocese.

THE CHOIR BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION
OF THE REREDOS AND MOSAICS

The mosaic decoration of the choir and quarter-domes, the formation of a chapel for early celebrations in the apse ; the almost entire reconstruction of the organ, and the installation of the electric light throughout the cathedral, have marked the decanate of Dr Gregory.

As a sequel to the throwing open of the choir to the dome in 1860, came the desire of Dean Milman and his committee to introduce mural and vitreous decoration, and a beginning, though a timid one, was made of the former in the roof at the east end of the choir. Then in 1864 one of the great spandrels of the dome received its complement of colour—a mosaic picture (by Salviati's process) of Isaiah, from the pencil of Alfred Stevens. This was followed two years later by a similar picture, that of St Matthew, by G. F. Watts. Meanwhile the first stained glass was inserted in the window over the great west door. Although classical and in keeping with the architecture of the cathedral, it tends, like all the other glass of Munich manufacture, to transmute glass painting into the production, so to speak, of translucent porcelain. Inspected closely from the gallery immediately in front of it, this window appears heavy and coarse in execution ; but viewed from the floor, near the effigy of Sir Frederick Leighton, in the morning, or during a fine sunset from the entrance to the choir, it looks remarkably well.

The smaller windows above the north and south-west doors, representing St Peter and St Paul, and the gifts respectively of Rev. Dr Vivian (Minor Canon from 1816 to 1876) and F. H. Vernon, Esq.,

were originally the work of those clever amateurs, Rev. A. Sutton and Mr F. Sutton, and were inserted about the same time as the great west window (1864-67). But twelve or thirteen years later Messrs Clayton and Bell reset the effigies, introducing great improvements into their architectural accessories.

They are now, beyond question, two of the few windows in the cathedral that can be contemplated with any real pleasure, proving, like those by Mr Kempe in the Jesus Chapel, how great is the importance, in a town, of that liberal use of white glass, which enables the positive tinctures to flash forth with a jewel-like brilliancy. Between 1868 and 1870 a fresh accession of painted glass was made to the cathedral, but the authorities, instead of emulating such Renaissance work as that in Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome, Santa Maria Novella and the Duomo at Florence, and in several churches at Arezzo, again placed the work at Munich. At that time we had artists—Clayton and Bell, Hardman, Lavers and Barraud, Powell, Millais, Holman Hunt and Westlake—perfectly capable of producing excellent work. To have endowed the cathedral with such German-made stuff as the glass now in the eastern aisle of the south transept and at the east end of the south choir aisle, was a direct insult to English art.

The style of glass to be used in St Paul's should be the richest used at the Renaissance; clear, brilliant, and calculated to transmit as much light as possible in a flood of colour into the church. The window lately inserted by Messrs Powell at the east end of the north aisle, although tolerable

as regards the disposition and brilliancy of its tinctures, sadly desiderates white. Many and large are the windows in St Paul's as yet awaiting pictorial enrichment, and it is devoutly to be hoped that the scheme for this important feature in the decoration of the cathedral will receive the most careful consideration, and that such glass may be inserted in them which, while giving richness to the surrounding architecture, will not unduly exclude light. Of the stained glass recently put into St Paul's, that in the clerestory of the choir and transepts is entitled to admiration, being, if I may so speak, decidedly "mosaic" in character, and assisting to carry on the decoration of the walls and vaulting, to which we must now revert.

The Thanksgiving Service of the 27th February 1872, again concentrated public attention on St Paul's, its worthiness and requirements. Following the precedents of 1664 and 1678, a "Book of Subscriptions" was opened, in which the late Queen Victoria and his present Majesty inscribed their names, on the evening before that great day. The example thus set, subscriptions again poured in, and now several designs were set forth for the application of these accumulated funds. Prominent among the architects to come forward was William Burges, who, on 22nd April 1873, was selected by the committee to prepare designs for the entire decoration of the cathedral. To this project Burges gave unremitting attention, and in the following year his designs and models were exhibited at the Royal Academy; but, as might have been expected from a man of Burges' architectural proclivities, they were

quite at variance with the Italianised Grecian of Wren's *chef d'œuvre*. Universal admiration, however, was excited by these designs for their richness and splendour, and for the loving care which had been bestowed upon their minutest details; but public opinion was so strong against their adoption that even Burges' best friends could hardly regret his not having been permitted to carry them out.

Burges, like his great contemporary, Butterfield, was, in his architectural ideas, ultra-mediæval, and could not keep his own idiosyncracies of taste in the background sufficiently. It was impossible for him to throw himself into a style with whose details he had no sympathy, or even into anything really consonant with the *genius loci*. His *penchant* was for those bold types of French Gothic[1] which prevailed at the close of the twelfth century, as affording him scope for the indulgence of what was a passion with him—sculptured and polychromatic decoration. It mattered little how commonplace the block was on which he had to work; he invariably succeeded in introducing something artistic into it, and as

[1] It was in this style that Burges planned St Fin Barr's cathedral at Cork, the only ecclesiastical work which, from its size, afforded a field for the exercise and illustration of his talents. The whole scheme of its iconography, both in sculpture and stained glass, was drawn up by him and scrupulously adhered to. Had the same care been bestowed upon its furniture and decoration, St Faith's, Stoke Newington—Burges' only London church—might have become one of the most notable raised in the metropolis since the Gothic Revival.

At Studley Royal and Skelton, both near Ripon, Burges built churches in which, by the liberality of their founders, he was enabled to carry out his views unhampered by pecuniary

an example of this, we may take the church of St Thomas, Upper Clapton, a frigid and feeble galleried room of the worst Georgian days, but which, under the magic wand of this truly-gifted man, has been transformed into one of the most beautiful in the north of London. Burges' rejected designs for the decoration of St Paul's may still be seen in the Chapter-house, also those of Mr Penrose whose classical studies eminently fitted him for the task. One of Penrose's drawings shows the baldachino which he designed to surmount the High Altar. Such a feature would not only have formed a noble termination to the vista, but would have preserved the graceful sweep of Wren's apse, of which the present reredos has in a great measure deprived us.

Opinions with regard to the mode of decorating St Paul's being so conflicting, and the designs of Messrs Burges and Penrose having been set aside, the scheme, though spasmodically revived at intervals, fell into abeyance. However, between 1872 and 1875, a step in the right direction towards brightening up the interior was taken by removing the coating of drab paint with which the stonework had been covered, thereby relieving the church of that "horror of great darkness" which used to fall upon the spectator as he entered.

The white marble pavement that had been taken

considerations. In 1856 Burges, in conjunction with Clutton, carried off the first prize in a competition, open to all Europe, for erecting a church at Lille, but in the sequel they were most unfairly excluded. Mr Street took the second prize, and M. Lassus the third.

up from the choir when its level was raised in 1871, but which the hurry of preparation for the Thanksgiving Service did not permit of replacing, was put down again about 1880; the choir aisles were denuded of their paint, and sundry small but necessary improvements were made in the sanctuary; but, owing to divided counsels, the decoration scheme still languished, though much money was wasted on tentative designs. Indeed, St Paul's was becoming a sort of *corpus vile* upon which to try experiments.

However, in or about 1885 a beginning was made, and the first fruits appeared in the reredos and its truly dignified and sumptuous surroundings. Commenced in 1886 from the designs of Messrs Bodley & Garner, and completed early in 1888, it narrowly escaped being swept away very shortly afterwards in a fanatical outburst. This, fortunately, blew itself out, and in the meantime the further adornment of the sanctuary was being quietly proceeded with, not only by the erection of massive screens within the last bay of the choir on either side,[1] but of sedilia and credence table, in every way worthy of their *locale*. Meanwhile, the broken thread in the dome was taken up, and the remaining six great pendentives filled with mosaic, according

[1] These truly magnificent screens are partly formed out of the old iron ones in the organ screen. The brass-work is entirely modern, and founded upon a study of a North Italian example. The execution of these dignified approaches to the sanctuary from the aisles was entrusted to Mr H. Longden, of Oxford Street, who is to be sincerely congratulated upon the manner in which he has executed a somewhat difficult and delicate task.

in style and material with the two which had been in position for so many years.

The figures of the prophets are entirely by Alfred Stevens. Those of St Matthew and St John are due to the late Mr G. F. Watts, and those of St Mark and St Luke to Mr Britton. As to their suitability to St Paul's, there can be no question whatever, executed as they were under the classical eye of the late Mr Penrose, who was desirous of keeping the decorations within the limits which Wren might reasonably be supposed to have contemplated.

"But he found himself in opposition to a strong and determined clerical body which was prepared to go much further. Penrose had indulged one ambition —to complete the great work of Wren. To that he devoted himself as the great object of his professional life; to complete it as Wren would have completed it, that was his ideal, and it was in this one ambition —perhaps the only one he permitted himself to entertain—that he found the one great disappointment of his life. He was set aside, and that in no gracious way. After having himself done much—and the taste of what he did towards the work has not been questioned—he saw schemes put forward and carried out, upon which he was not even consulted, and of which, whatever the ultimate opinion may be, it cannot be said that Wren had so conceived them."[1]

The eight great statues of Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church were being placed in the niches between

[1] From a Paper on "Penrose's Life and Work," by Mr J. D. Crace, in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*.

each group of windows in the drum of the dome about the same time. Then about 1890, the zeal for the mosaic decoration of the entire cathedral which had lain dormant for so long a period, burst out, and, upon the recommendation of Mr G. F. Bodley, the committee placed the work in the hands of Sir William Richmond. The first section of the scheme, comprising the apse and the two bays adjacent, was disclosed to public view on Easter Eve 1894; and on the same day, two years later, the completion of the work, as regarded the choir, was celebrated by the singing of the *Te Deum* before the High Altar at the conclusion of Evensong, Sir William Richmond and the entire staff of workmen engaged upon the decorations being present. Next, the four quarter domes—*i.e.* at the meeting of the choir and transept aisles—were taken in hand, and now the decoration of the choir aisle vaulting is rapidly approaching completion.

That this mosaic work is full of power and effectiveness, the colours employed the loveliest, the whole scheme a learned one, and the effect taken *en masse* most gorgeous, it would be idle to deny; but all who are possessed of any sense of the importance of architectural consistency of style and feeling, must acknowledge that, chronologically considered, the adoption of these designs has been, to put it in the mildest form, a fatal mistake. Sir William Richmond's mosaics clash with the real architectural feeling of the cathedral, and are in a fair way towards making a Byzantine interior to a thoroughly Renaissance building. Still, waiving questions of style, it is surely a matter of gratulation and content-

ment to those who recall with a shudder the former bareness of the walls and roof of the choir, to have seen a work like this inaugurated.

But beyond and above all this there is a satisfaction in knowing that the work has not only been conceived on its present grand scale by an English artist, but carried out by English workmen, and thus a decided step has been taken towards the formation of an English school of mosaic founded on the best ancient models.

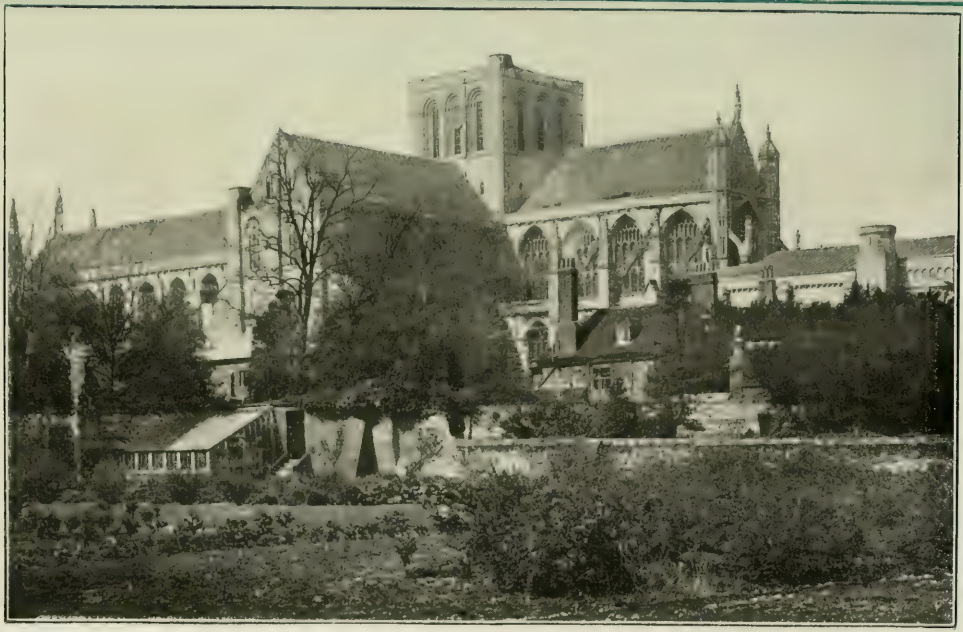
CHAPTER IV

WINCHESTER

A stately city with a great old cathedral in its centre keeping solemn guard over it.

THE historical name of this delightfullest of English cities struck pleasantly upon the ear as it was vociferated along the platform of the railway station one fine Saturday afternoon not long since. An hour and a half's railway ride has been enjoyed from town, past breezy commons, and through gently undulating down country, where chalk-streams meander, and where pretty villages, nestling beneath grey old churches — gems set in a shining landscape — lie embedded and asleep.

The cathedral and college, with their peaceful and beautiful environments, their historical, architectural, and musical associations; St Cross, most beautiful of Transitional churches, its situation lowly, but unsurpassedly reposeful; walks in every direction over velvety downs or by clear streams; stately Western and King's Gates; a fine Castle Hall, divided by pillars and arches of the most graceful thirteenth-



WINCHESTER . .
CATHEDRAL

FROM THE SOUTH EAST

century type into a nave and aisles; small, but architecturally interesting parish churches, stowed away in picturesque streets of red-tiled houses:—what a combination of attractions is presented by this ancient southern capital of England!

The surroundings of the cathedral are the embodiment of calmness and cloistral seclusion; indeed this *religio loci*, this hallowed τεμενος is, perhaps, nowhere so powerfully experienced as at Winchester, whose Close bursts upon the visitor as he turns into it from the busy, cheerful High Street for the first time, in a manner which deeply affects, but does not overwhelm. There is, perhaps, nothing more strikingly beautiful than the spectacle presented by that noble avenue of limes leading up to the west front of the cathedral, amid whose long-drawn, silver-grey Perpendicular nave, low Norman tower, deeply projecting transepts, choir and eastern chapels, there resides an indescribable air of English sturdiness and solidity — a contrast to the huge well-nigh immeasurable piles of Amiens, Bourges, Chartres, or Rheims. To some, this great church may at first sight appear as a work of nature than of man. Yet what great names does it not recall?—Swithun, Walkelin, Godfrey de Lucy, Edingdon, Wykeham, Beaufort, Waynflete, Fox.

Turning from the church itself we have the velvety turf surrounding it, prebendal houses—Tudor, Jacobean, Caroline, Georgian, modern, all mixed up together in the most delightfully heterogeneous manner possible, their gardens aglow with midsummer's most brilliant floral tributes; while the modest mignonette perfumes the air, already heavily

laden with the scent of the lime avenue, which at the time of my visit is in its glory.

While sauntering about the Close, enraptured with this almost unparalleled combination of attractions, a smart shower falls, followed by a rainbow, which, describing a perfect arc, forms with the grey pile of the cathedral and its surroundings a picture such as Turner would have loved to paint. To a thoughtful musician, how frequently circumstances recall sounds! Our school of English cathedral music—the richest and most varied collection of devotional music in the world—abounds in admirable pieces of word painting, and, at this moment, a most apposite instance occurs, the passage in the fine anthem, "The Lord is very great and terrible," of Dr Beckwith of Norwich:

"Look upon the rainbow and praise Him that made it, beautiful it is in the brightness thereof; it compasseth the heavens with a glorious circle, and the hand of the Most High hath bended it."

Those who are fortunate enough to have read and been delighted with Professor Willis' "Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral," will not be disappointed in his almost contemporary monograph on Winchester.[1] In this volume the Professor—so distinguished for wonderful mechanical skill, for subtle minuteness, and a keenness of glance which took in every bonding and every course of stone, forcing it to bear its part in the history of the whole

[1] It first appeared published in the "Proceedings of the Archæological Institute" at Winchester in 1845; and was issued separately a year later.

edifice—had rather a different work before him to perform than fell to his lot at Canterbury. There he appeared in the character of the acute commentator, the expounder of ancient records, full in their substance, and perspicuous when elucidated by a master hand, though previously obscure and complex. At Winchester, however, he found no Gervase to direct his researches; he had, by help of scanty notices, combined with the internal richness of the cathedral itself, to construct its history, and this he did right well. First we are introduced to the successive Saxon cathedrals of Kings Kynegils and Kynewald (dedicated by St Birinus, in 646 or 647), and that of St Æthelwold (dedicated in 980), the latter of which is elucidated by the help of a curious contemporary poem by the monk Wolstan. Then he describes Bishop Walkelin's enormous Norman structure (begun in 1079 and dedicated in 1093) which still exists in the mass, though marvellously metamorphosed; and then, after elucidating the rebuilding of the low eastern end by Bishop Lucy in 1202, in perfect First Pointed (a memorable ecclesiological fact), and the subsequent changes in the presbytery commenced in Middle Pointed days, he develops the process by which Bishops Edingdon, Wykeham, and his successors down to Fox transformed the huge Norman cathedral into one (in the main) of the Perpendicular style.

Of the Saxon cathedral, which, in all probability, occupied a position somewhat north of the present building—the north transept has been the site suggested—no portion remains, for in 1079 Walkelin, the first Norman bishop and a cousin of

the Conqueror, commenced a new cathedral[1] which exceeded in vastness even Abbot Paul's stupendous abbey begun two years before at St Alban's. Completed in 1093, when the monks entered it in solemn procession, "in præsentiâ ferè Episcoporum atque Abbatum Angliæ," it comprised a nave of eleven bays, said to have been 300 feet long, transepts of four bays, and an eastern arm also of four bays terminating in an apse. This had a circular aisle round it with towers on each side, so that the external outline of this end of the church was reduced from a semicircle to a square.

Such flanking towers were not unusual in Anglo-Norman times. The eastern turrets of Peterborough are examples of this arrangement, and we know them to have existed at Canterbury, York, and Worcester.[2] Those at Canterbury, known by the hallowed names of St Andrew and St Anselm, were so sacred in the eyes of the later builders, that the curious, and it must be owned, picturesque contraction in the plan of the Trinity Chapel is due to unwillingness to sacrifice them.

In its original state, this great Norman cathedral at Winchester must have presented an appearance of

[1] "Walkelinus Epūs à fundamentis Winton cœpit reædificare ecclesiam."—"Anglia Sacra."

[2] Several of the great French churches of the Romanesque and Early Gothic periods were planned with groups of five, and even of seven, towers, as Cluny, Nôtre Dame, Châlons-sur-Marne, Laon, Chartres, and Rheims, but in few instances have they reached completion. In the churches of the Rhenish Provinces and other parts of North Germany which are contemporary with the great French examples, this system of steeple-grouping can be seen in great perfection.

much grandeur, for, in addition to these flanking apsidal turrets, there were two vast western towers, and, at the junction of the four arms another, which fell in 1107, when it was rebuilt in its present low but dignified form.

The eastern portion of the church underwent such a change in Early English times, that it is not until we descend to the crypt—a specimen of rude Norman of precisely the same character and date as the transepts, and even more suggestive of a remote age —that we are enabled to form a precise idea of the plan of the Norman cathedral. Here we find that in addition to the circular apse round which the aisles of the Norman church were continued, there was a Lady Chapel, also apsidal, extending as far as the western arch of the present one.

Walkelin's Norman church, of which the crypt, the transepts, and some work about the lower part of the nave piers neighbouring to the choir screen are the only remains now visible, must have been stern and grand in its simplicity, but, from its being carried out in stone, of a more developed character than the contemporary work at St Alban's. At Winchester the eastern transept aisle, constructed for the reception of altars, was balanced by one to the west, a plan productive of such pleasing harmony that it is a cause for regret that it was not more often adopted.[1] Another ritual arrangement, not uncommon in the

[1] Besides Winchester the only great churches having double aisles to their transepts are Ely, York, Wells, Westminster, Beverley, and St Mary, Redcliffe, Bristol. Old St Paul's had them. The north transept of Oxford and the southern one of Chester Cathedral also adopt the same plan.

churches of Normandy, connected with the preservation and exhibition of relics of peculiar sanctity, is observable in the form of a transverse gallery, supported on two arches rising from a single central column, commensurate in height with the arcades opening into the aisles, and extending across the north and south ends of the transepts. At Ely, where Abbot Simeon, a brother of Walkelin, was rebuilding his conventual church of St Etheldreda almost at the same time, the same arrangement occurs, though here the gallery is built on more pillars and is set closer to the wall than usual.

That such a gallery existed in Canterbury cathedral we know, both from the description found in Gervase and from the history of the murder of Becket, of which the space beneath the gallery of the north transept, subsequently known as "The Martyrdom," was the scene. It was against this pillar that the Archbishop planted himself in his final struggle with his assassins, so vividly and picturesquely described by Dean Stanley in his "Memorials of Canterbury." I have alluded to a later example of this gallery in the north-eastern transept of Lincoln in my account of that cathedral.[1]

Two periods of Norman work are observable in the transepts, the earlier being indicated by the plain groined vaults, similar to those throughout the aisles of Norwich Cathedral, and the smaller piers; the later by the ribbed vaults and the piers, those towards the north and south ends which have been enlarged. This later work dates from the rebuilding of Walkelin's tower, which fell in 1107—

[1] Vol. i., p. 118.

rebelling, as it was thought, against the ungrateful task of overshadowing the body of the detested Rufus.

Influenced by morbid fear of a second catastrophe, the architect introduced new piers of an undue bulkiness, which might have been avoided had he secured better foundations and made use of a harder material. The piers which support the arches opening into the transepts are very unwieldy and obtrusive, from their excessive size and awkward squareness of form, and are the largest tower piers in England, in proportion to the spans of the arches that rest upon them. Those supporting the western and eastern arches of the tower are not at all obtrusive, for it was common in Norman churches with a central tower to give a greater span to these arches, partly in order to leave the view of the church unobstructed, but chiefly to allow of the introduction of the choir stalls, which were almost invariably arranged here. It is to be hoped that the debased Perpendicular vaulting of Charles I.'s day will, ere long, be removed from the tower at Winchester, and the lantern, with its noble zig-zagged arcades—four on each side, supported upon grand groups of tall slender shafts—exposed to view. From an artistic standpoint the gain would be immense.

The first great event in the architectural history of Winchester Cathedral took place during the episcopate of Bishop Godfrey de Lucy, between 1189 and 1204. At this period the services of the church were increasing in pomp and circumstance, and with the treble purpose of giving greater honour

to the altar of the Blessed Virgin, of facilitating the circulation of processions, and of affording increased shrine-room for the relics of the great local saint—Swithun, Bishop of Winchester from 838 to 862—the graceful eastern aisles, which extend for three bays beyond the choir, were contrived.[1] Hereford presents the earliest instance of this peculiarly English mode of building chapels beyond the constructional choir, but the Winchester arrangement is not only the most extensive and graceful, but from its well ascertained date, the most valuable. To accommodate this new work, the processional aisle was removed from the Norman apse of the choir, which was not yet interfered with, and the aisle walls of the choir carried on eastwards until a spacious rectangle, divided into three aisles of the same breadth, and nearly of the same height, had been obtained.

The vaulting of the central portion is a very little higher than that of the lateral ones, springing as it does from clusters of pillarets placed upon the capitals of the piers, whereas in the latter case the vaulting ribs rise directly from the piers, which are of the most graceful character, and composed of eight slender shafts grouped around a cylinder, banded together at the middle, and crowned with delicately foliaged capitals. Externally each bay of this Early English building is enriched with four lancet arcades,

[1] Gervase has told us that care was taken to accommodate them in the eastern aisles of Canterbury. William of Worcester applies the term "via processionûm" to eastern aisles—"spacium sive via processionûm a retro altaris principalis coram capellam Sanctæ Mariæ"—and in English vocabularies they are called the procession path.

of which the two central ones are pierced for windows, and the same system of mural decoration is extended round the east end of either aisle which forms a chapel. These lateral chapels retain their eastern walls, but that portion of the central or Lady Chapel, which projects for one bay beyond them, was added by Prior Hunton in the fifteenth century.[1]

Thus, the Lady Chapel proper presents a singular mixture of styles. The western compartment of the north and south walls, alongside of which the aisles are carried, though with less width than in the three western bays, retain the rich Early English arcade of De Lucy. This takes the form of six graceful lancets gathered up into pairs by trefoil-headed arches, a large quatrefoil and two small trefoils relieving the wall space above. In the Perpendicular extension the sides and end are lighted by large windows of seven compartments, with transom and tracery of a peculiar kind of subordination, or rather inter-penetration of patterns, deserving of a careful study. The vault over both these compartments is a complex and beautiful specimen of lierne work, and the shafts between the Early English and Perpendicular portions of this chapel have capitals and bases of an unusual form, but very rich and appropriate. Across the arch opening into the Early English half of the Lady Chapel is a Perpendicular screen with a spacious loft over it, and, together with the carved panelling of the

[1] From the presence of a crypt of the same period, beneath this eastern projection, it seems most likely that De Lucy's three aisles were of the same length.

seats and desks, is excellent, and should be ca fully studied. The walls here are covered wit the remains of some curious paintings illustratin the legendary history of the Virgin, minutel represented and described by Bishop Milner i Carter's "Specimens of Ancient Sculpture an Painting." These are all the work of Prior Silk stede (1498-1524), the successor of Prior Huntor under whom the Perpendicular alterations in this par of the cathedral were commenced. The stained glas in the south-east window—an admirable specimen o the work of Mr C. E. Kempe—forms a memorial tc the late Bishop of Winchester, Dr Thorold. The partly completed triptych is in memory of Miss Charlotte M. Yonge, so widely remembered by her books—"Heartsease," "The Daisy Chain," and a host of others. Long a resident at Otterbourne, near Winchester, she ever entertained a deep affection for the venerable cathedral and its solemn services.

De Lucy's Early English extension forms, if I may so express it, a casket for that series of sumptuous chantries of prelates, most of which were erected during the lifetime of those great persons who played so important a part in the affairs of Church and State during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Church of England was in the plenitude of her pomp and power. From one point, seven chantries and chapels—a galaxy of monumental remains such as is possessed by no other cathedral in the kingdom, and which, taken in their chronological order, form a most valuable and instructive series, whether viewed architecturally or historically —can be seen at once. "How much power and

ambition under half a dozen stones!" writes Walpole. "I own I grow to look on tombs as lasting mansions, instead of observing them for curious pieces of architecture." Under the second arch on the south side is the chantry of Cardinal Beaufort (Bishop of Winchester from 1405 to 1447). Within the opposite bay lies his immediate successor, Bishop Waynflete, (1447-86), the founder of Magdalen College, Oxford. The delicacy and beauty of the canopy work should be noticed, also the lily, the device of Waynflete, The east end of the south aisle, with its rich and beautiful woodwork and elaborate vaulting, in which the rebuses—the musical note (called a "long"), inserted in a "ton," for Langton; a vine and a "ton" for his see, Winton; and a hen sitting on a "ton" for his Prior, Hunton — marks the resting place of Bishop Langton (d. 1500). The stained glass in the window of this chapel—a Perpendicular one of three lights—is by Ward and Nixon (1850), as is that in the same position in the opposite chapel. In Langton's chapel is preserved the faldistorium upon which Queen Mary sat at her marriage in the Lady Chapel, on St James' Day, 25th July 1554, to Philip of Spain, when the nobles attendant upon that monarch wondered at Mass being as solemnly performed at Winchester as at Toledo. Within the southern bay behind the reredos of the high altar is the chantry of Bishop Gardiner, the famous "hammer of heretics"; "a man," says Fuller, "to be traced like the fox, backwards." The beginnings of the Renaissance are very evident in this tomb.

Opposite lies the truly great founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford—Bishop Fox—one of the

very best prelates of his day and generation, and who has displayed his munificence and taste in other cathedrals than this of his last see.

More than a century elapsed, after the completion of De Lucy's work, before steps were taken towards removing the Norman choir. The re-edification of this part of the church began in or about 1320, when the great apse was supplanted by a rectangular east end, towards which the walls of the most easternly bay on either side were made to converge, in order to join it neatly to the slightly narrower central portion of De Lucy's building. The work however, seems to have progressed but slowly, for nearly two hundred years elapsed before the whole of the Norman choir disappeared, so that in its architecture we have a most curious but highly instructive admixture of Decorated and Perpendicular. The former, dating between 1320 and 1350, is illustrated in the lower part of the east end, in the four arches on either side, which rise from graceful pillars, composed of eight slender shafts with simply-moulded capitals — perfect types of their age — and in the clerestory window frames. The tracery of these windows, the entire east window, the aisles, the screens between the side arches, and the elaborately groined wooden roof whose main ribs spring from small corbels about midway down the clerestory wall, are Perpendicular, and were not completed until Bishop Fox's day, early in the sixteenth century. The fourteenth-century architect's treatment of his east end is very noble, but it is invisible from the western part of the choir, being concealed by the gloriously restored altar screen which, rising

considerably above the arches separating the choir from its aisles, crosses the church at the third bay. The space behind it, formed within the "canted" arches, is the feretory, a raised platform, once a good deal higher, 7 feet broad, and extending right across, upon which the shrines of Saints Swithun, Birinus, Edda, and Æthelwold—especial patrons of the church—were located. Within the arch which supports the great east window, is built a wall, about 12 feet high from the floor of De Lucy's work, highly enriched with nine arcades under crocketed and finialled gables, and having in the centre a low door leading to a vault under the feretory, supposed to be that which in the records is designated as the "Holy Hole," probably from a mass of relics which it once contained, as well as from its vicinity to the shrines of the sainted prelates above it. From this arcaded wall rise pillars composed of slender shafts supporting two pointed arches, but the tympanum, formed by them and the greater arch in which they are enclosed, is unpierced.

Through these arches a most beautiful view must have been obtainable from the choir to the very *penetralia* of the Lady Chapel until the erection of the great altar screen.

Professor Willis was of opinion that the Norman choir aisles at Winchester were standing until the time of Bishop Fox (c. 1510), the Decorated piers having been erected a century and a half before, in front of the Norman ones, which were so thick that it became possible to cut down the front portion of such piers and pier arches, so as to leave room for the erection of their lighter successors without

endangering the fall of the aisles in the older work which, notwithstanding the loss of dimensions, was still strong enough to stand alone.

The manner in which the Perpendicular work of the choir aisles joins the Norman of the transepts would appear to confirm this opinion. A parallel, but more complete instance of this treatment still exists in the choir of St Alban's Cathedral, where three compartments of the original low-vaulted aisles are to be found in conjunction with the piers and pier arches, which belong to the best Decorated period.

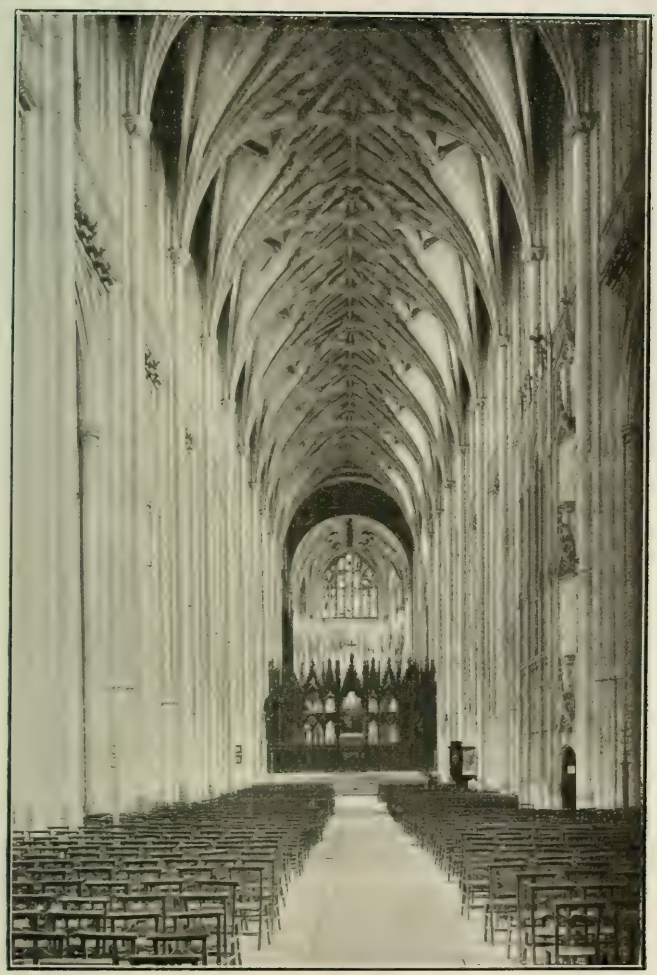
The delay that took place at Winchester between the re-edification of the several parts of the choir must be attributed to the fact that by the middle of the fourteenth century Walkelin's Norman nave was found to be in so dangerous a state as to require immediate attention, particularly the two western bays, which were entirely removed. Until then, the Norman nave of Winchester, whose style must have resembled that of the transepts, was the longest in England, reaching the extraordinary length of nearly 300 feet. It was equalled by old St Paul's, and exceeded by Bury (309 feet).

The work of re-edification was commenced by Bishop Edingdon, whose episcopate lasted from 1346 to 1366, his architect, it is more than probable, being William of Wykeham.

To say that Wykeham was the inventor of the Perpendicular style, as is so often asserted, is erroneous, for it had made its appearance at Gloucester when the remodeller of Walkelin's Norman nave was a lad, but that he brought this phase of English Pointed art to that state of excellence observable at Winchester there can be no doubt whatever.

The west front, with its vast window—the very *incunabula* of Third Pointed—two bays on the north side, and one on the south, had alone been completed when Wykeham succeeded Edingdon in the bishopric. The works were discontinued for more than thirty years. Perhaps the new style did not please in those days. However, in 1394, Wykeham resumed the remodelling of the nave, and lived to see a greater portion of his glorious creation completed in 1404. At this time the south side had been completed and the north begun. The works were carried on by his successors, Cardinal Beaufort and Bishop Waynflete, under whom less of the original Norman work seems to have been worked into the walls on the north side than by Wykeham on the south. The whole was completed about 1486. It is interesting to compare the mode in which two other great Norman works were being transformed about the same period—the choir of Gloucester and the nave of Canterbury. At Gloucester a network of panelling and tracery was being drawn over the simple round-arched work of pier and triforium range in the choir of Abbot Serlo. At Canterbury, the early post-Conquest nave of Lanfranc was being rebuilt almost entirely *de novo* under Chillenden. At Winchester, the superior architectural genius of Wykeham, without destroying the pillars and walls of Walkelin's church, by the bold but simple expedient of the removal of the triforium range, and throwing that and the aisle below into one, and partly rechiselling, partly recasing the rude piers and mouldings, transformed the stern Norman nave into a glorious specimen of that Perpendicular

style which seems to have sprung at once into the highest perfection of which it was capable. The Perpendicular of the choir at Gloucester and of the nave at Canterbury is very light and graceful, but deficient in the vigour — I had almost said the religiosity—of Winchester, where the Christian piety of its author gave a life to the style which naturally it possessed not. Few more religious spots the wide world over can be found than Wykeham's nave, quarried though it be in the decline of Pointed art out of a Norman block. And yet not even here can the whole effect compensate for the want of the triforium, which has been completely lost as a distinct member of the architectural elevation, as it was also in the earlier example of the choir and presbytery of York, and the still earlier work of the nave. In all these instances, the place formerly given to the triforium is occupied by a prolongation downwards of the mullions and compartments of the clerestory windows, of which we have earlier examples in the nave of St David's Cathedral and the choir of Southwell, the elevation being thus divided into two, instead of three, parts. At Winchester, a balcony above the pier arches, productive of a very beautiful effect, corresponds in some degree to the triforium. The design of the windows throughout the nave, except in the portion begun under Bishop Edingdon, is very elegant, and several of them have received their complement of stained glass. One in either aisle will be recognised from their rich but heavy tinctures as the work of Evans of Shrewsbury, an early, able and zealous pioneer in the revival of glass painting, who, had he permitted himself to come under the



THE NAVE LOOKING EAST

WINCHESTER . . CATHEDRAL

influence of Pugin, might have done some really good things, but his glass at Winchester, although inserted between 1851 and 1853, shows little improvement upon that in Bishop West's chapel at Ely, which he executed ten years before. Other windows are by Clayton and Bell, their silvery tones evincing a thorough appreciation of their Perpendicular environments.

Fragments of old stained glass will be discovered in several of the windows in the aisles and clerestory. That in the great western window was collected from different parts of the cathedral, after the destruction of the rest by Cromwell's soldiery in 1644. Two or three of the original figures remain. These are undoubtedly the earliest Perpendicular figures in the cathedral, and are, in all probability, coeval with the framework of the window.

Bishop Edingdon's chantry, the earliest of that fine series already alluded to, is on the south side of the nave, near the steps leading up into the choir, but it is eclipsed in splendour by that of Wykeham, which occupies the entire space between two piers of the nave on the same side lower down. This chapel, to which Wykeham refers in his will, was built by him on the site of an altar dedicated to the Virgin (his especial patroness), the Mass at which he had always been accustomed to attend when a boy at school, and which stood, it is said, "in that part of the cross precisely which corresponded with the pierced side of the Saviour." This, however, is hardly the case, even allowing for the extra length of the Norman nave. The design of the chantry is very beautiful. Indeed it is one of the best specimens remaining of a fourteenth-century monumental chapel.

The bishop's effigy, the "comeliness" of which, it has been suggested, may have induced Anthony Wood to describe him as having a "courtly presence," reposes on an altar tomb in the centre, arrayed in cope and mitre. Two angels support the pillow at the head, while at the feet three monks are represented offering up prayers for the repose of the departed soul.[1] The tomb is kept in repair by the members of the bishop's two foundations, Winchester College and New College, Oxford. The quincentenary of the foundation of the former was marked by the restoration of the statues to the niches in 1893, the work being carried out by Mr Frampton, from the designs of Mr Micklethwaite. The font, within the sixth bay on the north side, consists of a square block of black marble, supported by a cylindrical stem and pillars, detached at a considerable distance from it. The stem has horizontal flutes, and the pillars at the angles are likewise fluted, except one, which is plain; their capitals are formed of leaves, and the basement of the whole design is enriched with a tortuous moulding. Not only the four sides of the bowl, but the top, are covered with rude sculptures. Those on the southern and western sides represent passages in the life of St Nicholas, the patron of children; the other two, doves in various attitudes, together with a salamander. The ornaments on the top encircling the bowl are doves, which appear

[1] They are said, but questionably, to represent Wykeham's three assistants in the cathedral works—William Wynford, his architect; Simon de Membury, his surveyor of the works; and John Wayte, controller.

breathing in phials surmounted by crosses, supposed to contain the two kinds of sacred chrism made use of in baptism.[1] That the whole dates from the time of Walkelin there can be little doubt, and fonts very similar to it may be seen in the county, at East Meon and St Mary's, Southampton. St Antoine at Compiegne, between Creil and Noyon, has a font of the same type, minus, however, the detached pillarets. Two flights of steps, rendered necessary by the crypts and commencing at the pillar between the ninth and tenth bays, contribute greatly to the dignity and solemnity of Wykeham's masterpiece. The choir, ritually speaking, is arranged within the arches of the tower and the last bay of the nave, and is furnished with two rows of stalls with unusually lofty canopies. They are of oak as black as ebony, and exceedingly rich and beautiful in design, and as the canopies bear a great resemblance to those on the tomb of Edmund Crouchback in Westminster Abbey, the date of these stalls at Winchester may be safely placed at between 1290 and 1300. The stalls themselves must yield in seniority to those at Exeter, which are of Bishop Bruere's time (1224-44), but, taken as a whole, the woodwork at Winchester is the earliest in England.

The steps to the choir aisles do not commence until the arch opening into them is reached, so that the floor of the transepts is on a level with that of the aisles and the greater portion of the nave.

The well-like effect of these noble Norman transepts at Winchester, in which the choir is continued across at a considerable altitude, is very suggestive of Paderborn, Hameln, Naumburg, Hildesheim, and

[1] Excellent models of this font may be purchased in Winchester.

Treves, though the beautiful Romanesque arcading to the parcloses, which forms so fine a feature in the three last-named German examples, is wanting in the Hampshire cathedral.

Whatever was the form of the screen ("pulpitum") which separated the choir of the monks at Winchester from the nave, it disappeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when a mere wall of separation in the Renaissance of that day was erected, either by Bishop Neile—one of those prelates who were desirous of restoring to Divine Service and to the churches themselves some portion at least of the splendour of which they had been deprived under Elizabeth — or by his successor, Walter Curle, who made many alterations in the cathedral. This screen, with figures of James I. and Charles I. on either side of its entrance, may be seen in the plates given by John Britton in his monograph on the cathedral. It was superseded about 1828 by another, also high and close, in Late Gothic, and by no means contemptible for its date, from the designs of Garbett, an architect of local reputation, to whom are also due the Episcopal throne, choristers' desks, substalls, and benches, all of which took the place of good early eighteenth-century work. Garbett's Gothic screen had barely half a century of existence, for, about thirty years ago, the Chapter, with the praiseworthy object of rendering the choir offices audible to those seated in the nave, caused it to be removed, Sir Gilbert Scott being consulted as to the best mode of designing a new screen which should not disturb the arrangement of the choir that had existed for nearly six hundred years. The removal

of Garbett's screen had, however, been talked of some time before this, but Scott, from fear of disturbing old work, had shrunk from the responsibility. On being again approached on the subject shortly after the death of Bishop Wilberforce in 1873,[1] Sir Gilbert found, on a close examination, that the work forming the backs of the late thirteenth-century return stalls, and practically the eastern face of the screen, terminated precisely in a plane, flush with the backs of the stalls, this plane bisecting all the mouldings as if they had been sawn down their axes, so that it was possible to open out the choir by simply removing Garbett's screen and the rough timber framing, against which the boarding behind the stalls was fixed. Accordingly this was done, and then little more was needed than the repetition of the same features on the west, as already existed on the east, to make this screen, not only a very beautiful, but a consistent design, just sufficient to break, without obstructing, that superb vista terminating in the towering altar screen, and above it the seven-light window, glowing with one of the expiring efforts of the mediæval glass painter. The only defect in this wooden choir screen at Winchester is the narrowness of its central doorway, but bound as he was to adhere to the old work on the eastern

[1] I remember that at the time of my first visit to Winchester, early in August 1873, the Episcopal throne was draped in purple. Only a fortnight before the unlooked-for death of Bishop Wilberforce, in the full tide of his active and brilliant life, had been received everywhere with a shock and sense of loss seldom exceeded, for he had filled so large a space in the Church, in the State, and in Society that, in losing him, all classes felt that a great light had indeed gone out.

side, Sir Gilbert Scott cannot be held responsible for this. The organ at Winchester still stands where it always has done, above the stalls, and under the northern arch of the lantern. When Dr S. S. Wesley went as organist to Winchester in 1849, in succession to Dr Chard, who had held the appointment for nearly half a century, he found an organ by Avery,[1] who, in his early life, met with great patronage and encouragement, but after a time became dissolute in his habits and unprincipled in his conduct, which so incapacitated him for business, that it has been generally observed that the instruments built by him in his latter days were in every way inferior to his first productions. He was in the habit of taking (or borrowing, as he called it) the pipes from the organs he had formerly built, and putting them into others, and without any intention whatever of returning them. He was also known to use the same pipes in several organs. When these facts became known he was a ruined man. The organs at Carlisle Cathedral and Quebec Chapel, Marylebone, together with several others, were all finished by other builders. From his ill conduct which he manifested towards his friends, he was deserted by them, and, becoming an outcast from respectable society, ended his days in Giltspur Street Prison, and was taken thence to his grave. He lies buried in the north ground of St Sepulchre's

[1] The following are among the organs originally built by Avery: Winchester Cathedral; King's College Chapel, Cambridge (1804); Carlisle Cathedral (1808, his last work); St Margaret, Westminster; Croydon Church; St Stephen, Coleman Street, London; and Kingston Church, Surrey.

Church, Snow Hill, close to the wall, and in a line with the organ (as it then stood) of that church, his funeral expenses being defrayed by a subscription amongst his own workmen.

The general characteristic of Avery's organs was that they combined quantity with quality in every department, the compound stops being very brilliant and sprightly—a matter of the first importance to the performer.

Avery's organ at Winchester replaced an earlier one by Father Smith. It had been rebuilt and enlarged in 1825, by Blyth of Isleworth,[1] but failed to satisfy a man with Wesley's ideas on "organic" matters. Accordingly, in 1852 we find him persuading the Dean and Chapter to purchase for £2,350 three-fourths of the fine organ by Henry Willis which figured in the Great Exhibition of the previous year.

Opposition to this scheme was raised by one of the canons—Rev. T. G. Pretyman, son of Pretyman Tomline, Bishop of Winchester (1820-27)—a prelate who, having had in his younger days the good fortune to become tutor to "the Heaven-born Minister,"[2]

[1] Until this year the Winchester organ had an excellent case of Renaissance workmanship, consisting of a "great organ," with four towers and three flats of pipes enriched with standing figures, cherubim, etc.; while a "choir organ," with two towers and one flat of pipes, jutted picturesquely out over the magnificent thirteenth-century stalls of black Norman oak. This organ-case is shown very clearly in a view in my possession, engraved from a drawing made by James Cave, a local artist. The present organ-case—a sorry affair of some common sort of wood, stained black to match the old stall-work—was erected from the designs of Blore, and its grand old Renaissance predecessor expatriated.

[2] William Pitt.

soon experienced the patronage of his pupil, who appointed him his private secretary, and gave him a prebendal stall in Westminster Abbey. He was made Bishop of Lincoln in 1787, to which preferment was added the deanery of St Paul's (a situation in which he scandalously neglected his choristers' school), and on the death of Dr Randolph in 1813, was offered the See of London, but that dignity he declined from an expectation of something more substantial—a calculation in which he was not disappointed; for, on the death of Bishop Brownlow North[1] in 1820, he obtained the rich see of Winchester, then the *summum bonum* of Episcopal ambition.

However, in spite of the opposition of Mr Pretyman, the amount required seems to have been obtained, and on 3rd June 1854 the organ was formally opened. A special service, held on that day, included Samuel Wesley's *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* in F, S. S. Wesley's "Ascribe unto the Lord," and "The Wilderness," and Purcell's "O give thanks." In 1898 this organ was entirely rebuilt by Willis, and it now ranks as one of the finest cathedral organs in the kingdom.

When the new organ was finished, Dr Wesley much wished to have it placed upon the choir screen, but, to his great mortification, his proposal was unanimously negatived by the cathedral authorities,

[1] This was the prelate who, among others, held out the hand of hospitality and good-fellowship to the French bishops and clergy when the impending terrors of the Revolution drove them to seek shelter in England. Numbers of these emigrant clergy were lodged in the King's House—now the barracks—the only finished portion of the palace begun by Sir C. Wren for Charles II.

and the original position adhered to. Wesley was a great advocate for the retention or re-erection of cathedral organs upon choir screens, and never lost an opportunity of promulgating his views on the subject whenever it came on the tapis, as, for instance, at Gloucester when, in 1871, the question arose as to its position. The great organist's views were shared by his successor, the late Dr G. B. Arnold, one of a long line of organists who have contributed to render the musical annals of Winchester Cathedral and College of unusual interest.

Between 1675 and 1692 the organist was John Reading, composer of the famous Winchester College "Graces," and of the well-known school-song, *Dulce Domum.* Vaughan Richardson, whose anthem, "O how amiable," is still a favourite,[1] filled the post from 1692 to 1729. John Bishop (1729-37) is perhaps best remembered by his *Jam Lucis orto sidere* (*Hymnus Matutinus die Recessionis ante Festum Pentecostes*), originally set to music for the use of the Winchester scholars—a bright and taking melody, which has found its way into several modern hymnals, and is appropriately set in "Hymns Ancient and Modern" to the Ascension-tide Hymn, "O Saviour, Who for man hast trod."

James Kent, a man of limited talents and little originality, held the post from 1737 to 1774. His weakness lay in writing long solos and verses, regarding the chorus—that most essential part of an

[1] It was sung in procession at Salisbury Cathedral on the re-opening of the Chapter-house after restoration on 30th July 1856, and also at the great service held in Winchester Cathedral on the occasion of the quincentenary of the foundation of the College, 1893.

anthem—as a mere short *finale*, but he is perhaps seen at his best in "Blessed be Thou," "Lord, how are they increased?" "Sing, O Heavens," "In the Beginning was the Word," and "Who is this that cometh from Edom?" Kent, who was reputed to be one of the best players of Croft's music in the kingdom, was succeeded by Peter Fussell, whose musical reputation may be said to rest upon a single chant in G, and then in 1802 came Dr Chard, a somewhat prolific composer of services and anthems, and good trainer of boys' voices. To Chard succeeded Samuel Sebastian Wesley, whose anthems—to say nothing of his other works—are embodiments of creative genius and devotional expression in music which will carry his name to a remote posterity, who can only judge of his extraordinary talents as an executive musician by report, and the evidence of those who enjoyed the privilege of hearing him, and have left their impressions on record. So sublime was Wesley's manner of writing that it elicited the admiration of Spohr, who said, "It is distinguished by a noble style and by rich chosen harmonies, as well as by surprisingly beautiful modulations," while the opinion of Professor Walmisley of Cambridge was: "The universal consent of all musicians in England is, that Dr Wesley is the first among us, both for extraordinary talent, and for universal diligence in improving that talent to the utmost."[1]

Of Wesley's successor, the late Dr G. B. Arnold,

[1] For much of this information respecting the musical associations of Winchester Cathedral, I am indebted to several able papers contributed to the *Church Review* and *Musical News*, by Mr John S. Bumpus.

with whom more than one delightful Sunday has been spent, it is not too much to say, that there was perhaps no organist of his day so highly famed for the readiness and flow of his ideas in extempore fugue-playing.

Winchester Cathedral is almost entirely destitute of architectural *entourage*. Chapter-house, cloisters, dormitory, and other precincts of a church, which was at once episcopal and monastic, are gone, leaving the south side of the nave bare and naked. Their disappearance is due in a great degree to the atrocities of the Protestant Bishop Horne, which in 1570 exceeded those of Whittinghame, the Dean of Durham.[1] Partly for the sake of the leaden roofs, and partly out of bigotry, this successor of the apostles destroyed these, among the most interesting of our monastic buildings. But worse was to come, for, seventy years later, on the city falling into the hands of the Puritan soldiery in 1644, their wanton violence, heightened by religious prejudices, was chiefly directed against the venerable cathedral.

"They entered the church with colours flying and drums beating; they rode up through the body of the Church and Quire until they came to the altar; there they rudely pluck downe the table, and brake the rayle, and afterwards carrying it to an alehouse, they set it afire, and in that fire burnt the Book of Common Prayer, and all the Singing Books belonging to the Quire; they threw down the organs and break the stories of the Old and New Testament curiously cut out in carved work, and of the brass torn

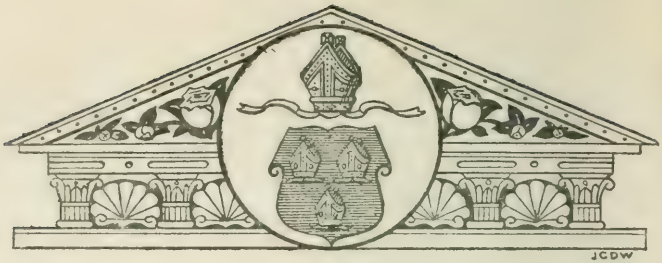
[1] Those ridiculous rhyming parodies of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Commandments, were truly worthy of this Puritan Dean, who superseded the use of the choral service in his cathedral by monstrous impertinencies of this kind.

from violated monuments, might have been built a house, as strong as the brazen tower in old romances."

At the Restoration, as soon as the clergy had recovered possession of their property, they began to repair the devastations which had been committed by these terrible people. Under Brian Duppa, tutor of Charles II., who was raised to the See of Winchester, great attention was paid to the reparation and refitting of the structure, as far as possible, to its former state. The organ-case, already alluded to as having been discarded in favour of the present pseudo-Gothic one, and a bishop's throne which met the same fate, were somewhat later contributions, and belong to the episcopate of Sir Jonathan Trelawney. Early in the last century a series of repairs were effected under the superintendence of Dr Nott, prebendary of the cathedral,[1] but Winchester seems to have escaped the clutches of Wyatt, probably through the remonstrances of Bishop Milner and John Carter, and has thus come down to our own day marvellously little spoilt by late Georgian disfigurements. Two of the greatest works recently undertaken have been the reparation of the nave roof and the restoration of the great altar screen. This magnificent work, which closely resembles that at St Alban's, and in many particulars those in Southwark Cathedral and the Priory Church at Christ Church, towers up behind the High Altar, cutting off the polygonal part of the choir. It belongs to the latter part of the fifteenth century

[1] While the choir was under renovation the choral services were not intermitted, but were held twice daily in the Lady Chapel. The organ not being available, the music was entirely unaccompanied.

but who its actual author was has never been precisely ascertained. The intricate lacework of its parapet as well as of the beautiful canopies, must be considered the climax of the Perpendicular style. The original statues which occupied the niches were destroyed after the Reformation, but the work escaped further violence from the hands of the Parliamentary soldiers, being concealed by a temporary partition erected in a parallel line before it, so as entirely to conceal its beauties from the observation of those sacrilegious intruders. In the early part of the eighteenth century, Dr Harris, a prebendary of the cathedral, and master of Winchester College, bequeathed £800 for the purpose of classicising a portion of it, and placing urns in the vacant niches, as well as for laying down a marble pavement in the sanctuary. During the repairs carried out between 1825 and 1828, these classicisms were all removed, and the niches remained once more untenanted until about ten years ago, when an entire restoration was determined upon. This resulted not only in the restoration of the fifty-six figures—eighteen large and thirty-eight small—to the niches, but of the figure of the Crucified to the great cross in the centre. The work, entrusted to Messrs Farmer and Brindley, was completed in 1899, and now it is not too much to say that the interior of Winchester Cathedral, viewed from the west door, is one of the sublimest architectural spectacles that the genius of man has bequeathed to the admiration of succeeding ages.



CHAPTER V

NORWICH

THE immense number of great architectural works raised by the early Norman builders, and the grand scale on which most of them are planned, combined with their solidity of construction, and the massive simplicity, yet grandeur, of their structural features, cannot fail to awaken a feeling of astonishment in the mind of the intelligent observer at the indomitable energy, the command of resources almost inexhaustible, and, by no means least, the religious zeal which set the whole in motion.

It is worthy of remark that, of the important Saxon churches, the one which had the longest existence was St Wilfrid's at Hexham, one of the earliest of all, serving as it did for the nave of the extended abbey church up to the devastation wrought in 1296 by the Scots. Although none of the others had so prolonged an existence, it must not be supposed that the Norman architects condemned them as intrinsically worthless. In the case of five

FROM THE CLOISTERS

NORWICH . . . CATHEDRAL

of the most important cathedrals and abbeys, Canterbury, York, St Paul's, Gloucester, and Peterborough, and in that of Hereford also, the Saxon buildings were ruined by fire within a few years of the Conquest, and had, necessarily, to be rebuilt; while Rochester, Wells, and St Frideswide's at Oxford were in a very dilapidated condition. At St Alban's, at the end of the tenth century, a Saxon abbot set on foot, though he did not carry out, a grand scheme of re-edification, which points to the fact that the actual structure was recognised as inadequate or faulty.

At the important sites of Winchester, Ely, Durham, Worcester, and Exeter, the rebuilding of Saxon churches appears to have been deliberate; in two certainly, Winchester and Ely, the Normans finding on the sites buildings dating in all essentials from that important era in church restoration, the earlier part of the tenth century.

Thus it came about, that within a hundred years of the Conquest, not only had every existing cathedral and great abbey been rebuilt on a scale of the utmost grandeur, but new cathedrals and abbeys founded, and churches of every grade built in almost every corner of the land.

Although nearly all our cathedrals retain more or less of Norman work, either in their ground plans, or their actual fabrics, those of Chichester, Durham, Gloucester, Hereford, Norwich, Oxford, and Peterborough have come down to our own day with nearly the entire shell of the original fabric intact; but of them all, none has preserved its original ground plan so little undisturbed as

the one which forms the subject of the present chapter.[1]

Notwithstanding its colossal proportions, Norwich Cathedral hardly appears to advantage, situated as it is on the lowest ground in the city, neighbouring to the Wensum. The north side is quite hemmed in by the grounds pertaining to the bishop's palace, but from the south side of the precincts, to which the Erpingham and Ethelbert gates form such grand approaches, it tells to great advantage. The view from the south-east, including the solemn circular chapels around the procession path, the lofty clerestoried choir with its rather Continental looking apse and flying buttresses, the deep transept and the extraordinarily lofty Norman tower supporting a graceful fifteenth-century crocketed spire, is, however, extremely noble; indeed it is only from this point, and from the south-west angle of the great cloisters, that the true external grandeur of this most perfect of Anglo-Norman cathedrals can be fully grasped.

The chief defect of Norwich Cathedral is the want,

[1] Ely retains its Norman nave and transepts entirely undisturbed; St Alban's partially so. The naves of Rochester and Southwell, the transepts of the latter and of Winchester are grand and characteristic examples of the style. Exeter has its transeptal towers; Carlisle a fragment of its nave, and Chester its north transept. At Worcester, traces of Norman work are visible in the walls of the transepts and south aisle of the nave; and at Lincoln the Norman west front still exists beneath a veil of Early English work. Bristol retains its Chapter-house and passage thereto; while at Canterbury a close examination of the walls of the choir will reveal how much of the sterner work of the Priors, Conrad and Ernulf, was made use of by the French and English Williams. Lichfield, Wells, and York show no traces of their Norman origin above ground.

either of a western pair of towers, or of that single one combined as at Ely, and formerly at Bury, with a transept, to relieve the enormous length of the nave. The west front, too, is poor, and deficient in dignity, owing in some measure to its having been tampered with in Perpendicular times, and its original character almost entirely obliterated at subsequent periods.

The See of Norwich cannot boast the remote antiquity of Canterbury, Rochester, Lichfield, or York, having been established here only at the end of the eleventh century on its removal from Thetford.

It was in the seventh century that Sigebert, fifth king of East Anglia, invited Felix, a Burgundian priest, to instruct his subjects in the truths of religion, appointing him Bishop about 630, and fixing the See of the new diocese at Dunwich, then the capital of the kingdom. Felix died in 647, and Thomas, Boniface, and Bisus were successively appointed, the last of whom was consecrated in 669. This bishop divided the diocese into two parts, the county of Suffolk forming one, the See of which continued at Dunwich; and the county of Norfolk the other, the See being placed at Elmham. Eleven bishops in succession had presided over the former See, and ten over the latter, when the two dioceses were united in 956, and the See continued at Elmham. After this, thirteen bishops sat in succession at Elmham. Egelmar, the last, was deposed by the Conqueror, who appointed Herfast, his chaplain and chancellor, to the bishopric in 1070. He removed the See from Elmham to Thetford, then the most considerable town in Norfolk, and there built a cathedral and palace; and dying in 1084, was succeeded by William

Galsagus, Bulfagus or Beaufeu in 1085, who ruled for six years. This prelate was followed in 1091 by Herbert de Losinga. He came from Normandy with William Rufus, and purchased the bishopric for £1900—a vast sum in those days. He also bought for his father the dignity of Abbot of Winchester, but being cited before the Pope in 1093 for these and other simoniacal practices, he was sentenced to lose his pastoral staff and ring as a penance for his misdoings, and to build certain monasteries and churches at his own cost, of which this stupendous structure at Norwich would appear to have been one. On his re-admission into office Losinga removed the See from Thetford to Norwich. This was in 1094, and shortly after he began his cathedral, as recorded in the "Anglia Sacra"—"Norwicensis ecclesia fundata est, a dōm Herberto episcopo."

The foundation deed was signed in 1101, so that this enormous church, of which nearly the entire shell of the original fabric has come down to our own day, must at this time have made considerable progress, together with the conventual buildings which were ready for the reception of sixty monks of that celebrated Benedictine order which, in the ninth century, had absorbed and extinguished almost every other in Western Christendom. It is probable that Losinga saw the completion of the presbytery, with its procession path and beautiful trefoil of circular chapels, of which two remain; the lantern surmounting the four great arches at the crossing; the transepts, each with an apse on its eastern side, and a portion of the nave, sufficient to contain the *chorus cantorum*. To Losinga's successor, Eborard,

or Everard, who "loved his monks at Norwich with the utmost affection," we owe the remainder of the nave, which must have been completed very shortly after the first half of the twelfth century. During the episcopate of William de Turbe, a monk of the priory, who had been elected bishop on the deposition of Everard in 1145, the church was greatly injured by fire,[1] but was restored, and the central tower carried on to completion by his successor, John of Oxford.[2]

In 1245 the Norman Lady Chapel was removed and a new one built by Bishop Walter of Suffield, but of this a very small fragment, showing it to have been a most graceful specimen of Early English architecture, remains, it having been demolished by an Elizabethan dean of iconoclastic propensities—one Gardiner, with whom the cathedral was unfortunately saddled.

On the Festival of Saints Peter and Paul, 29th June 1272, the central tower was struck by lightning, and on the morrow of St Lawrence, in the same year, one of those emeutes which in mediæval times were so frequent between the monks and the citizens, broke out, when the Close was besieged, the records burnt, and the conventual buildings sacked. In the retribution inflicted on the citizens they were made to pay a fine of 3000 marks, which no doubt was of great assistance towards the works of the

[1] Ecclesia Norwicensis comburitur.—"Chron. de Hulmo," 433; "Matt. Westm.," 250; "Cotton MSS.," 77; "Anglia Sacra," i. 397, 409.

[2] Joannes de Oxoniâ consummavit Ecclesiam ab Herberto inceptam, et Infirmarium ædeficavit.—*Ibid.*

repair, which appear to have taken some time. Indeed, six years rolled by before the cathedral was thought to be in a fit state for its reconsecration and dedication to the Holy Trinity, which took place on Advent Sunday 1278, in the presence of Edward I. and his queen, and an august assemblage. The day was also signalised by the enthronement of William Middleton as twelfth Bishop of Norwich.

The cloisters—the largest in England, next to Salisbury—were begun in 1297, together with the Chapter-house, of which the three great arches opening into it from the eastern walk of the cloister alone remain. The construction of the cloisters occupied more than a century, so that in their several walks we are enabled to study Complete Gothic in its successive stages of development from Geometrical to Perpendicular.

In 1362 England was visited by a furious hurricane which overthrew the spire of Norwich Cathedral, at that time of wood, covered with lead. It fell on the presbytery, and was the cause of the material alteration which took place in that part of the cathedral during Bishop Percy's episcopate. The very perfect collection of sacrists' rolls still existing, show that large sums were disbursed for repairs between 1364 and 1369, and it was then that the present clerestory of the eastern arm was constructed. Many architects of the epoch would have removed the Norman presbytery altogether, but Bishop Percy was very conservative, for he kept the original arcades and triforia intact, grafting upon them that lofty clerestory with its foreign-looking apse of graceful four-light windows, whose tracery, so

valuable and admirable a specimen of the transition from the curvilinear, is enhanced by the fact that its exact date is known.

The flying buttresses form no part of Bishop Percy's work, his roof, which was a finely moulded timber one, requiring no such support, but were additions of a later period, as we shall see.

The great work of the fifteenth century was the vaulting of the nave, whose original Norman roof had perished in a fire originating in the steeple, another one of wood, which was struck by lightning in 1463.

This calamity occurred during the episcopate of Lehart (1445-72), to whom we owe the splendid stone groining of the nave, the graceful crocketed spire, and the spirelets crowning the angle turrets of the central Norman tower, whose extraordinary elongation is no doubt owing to the lowly situation of the church.

When Bishop Percy gave the presbytery its graceful clerestory, he roofed it, as I have said, in finely-moulded oaken timber, but a century later (1472-98) this roof was concealed by Bishop Goldwell, who, continuing the work already carried out by Lehart in the nave, endowed this part of the church with its stone vault and those flying buttresses and pinnacles in the form of seated figures, which until then were not previously needed, but which now became very essential for the stability of the structure. In 1509 another fire made way for the groining of the transepts, and thus Norwich Cathedral was provided at different times with these lierne vaults which, next to its almost unaltered Norman plan, constitute its chief glory.

This last addition was the work of Bishop Nix, "a person of very slender character," who, "in spite of his name, had little of snow in his breast," and who changed two bays of the aisle on the south side of the nave into Perpendicular to form a chantry for himself. With this the architectural history of the cathedral may be said to close.

It is not until we set foot within the nave of Norwich Cathedral that we become aware of the impressiveness of its Norman design. There is one feature, however, which, to the visitor who arrives with the glories of Ely and Peterborough fresh in his mind, will appear wanting, viz., that grand afterthought, the western transept, which imparts such an air of dignity and expansion to the naves of its two great East Anglian sisters. Still, something of this effect might be obtained at Norwich by leaving a larger number of bays free from chairs, at least on week-days, when they are not required for purposes of accommodation.

Of the three Norman naves that of Norwich is the narrowest, but it is the longest, measuring from the front to the western arch of the central tower 252 feet, and attaining the vast number of fourteen bays. The three easternmost, however, are occupied by the choir stalls and deep organ screen, Norwich, like Westminster, having retained the old Benedictine choral arrangements more completely undisturbed than any other church which was at once episcopal and monastic.

The arcades separating the nave from its aisles are arranged in pairs; but, excepting in one instance on either side, where we have an isolated round column

of inconsiderable height but of enormous girth, and scored with spiral mouldings from top to bottom as at Durham,[1] the piers assume the form either of the section of a round pillar, or a row of three shafts, with capitals mostly of the cushion type. The original Norman vaulting shafts, coupled between each pair of arches, and single between the others, were greatly altered when the flat wooden roof was replaced by the present superb Perpendicular groined one. The coupled shafts which rise to the string-course of the clerestory were joined together much in the same way as at Gloucester, and from the apex of a little arch formed by this junction rises the Perpendicular pillaret which receives the main ribs of the vault—one of the finest and latest specimens of work before the introduction of fan tracery. The alternate shafts are brought down just to the spring of the triforium arches on to a corbel, which takes the form either of an angel bearing a shield, or of the rebus of Bishop Lehart—a hart lying in the water (Wa'ter Lie-hart).[2]

The triforium openings, deficient in the arcades which fill those at Ely, Peterborough, and Romsey, are almost identical in shape and size with those below them. Their flat soffited arches rise in every case from three slender shafts. The original Norman

[1] The pier now incorporated with the organ screen will prove on examination to have been originally of cylindrical form.

[2] Those desirous of obtaining an exhaustive account of the four great vaulted roofs at Norwich, with their bosses illustrating the course of Scripture History from the Creation to Solomon, and from the Birth of Christ to the Final Judgment, should consult the sumptuous monograph written by Dean Goulburn and Precentor Symonds, conjointly, and published in 1876.

triforium had a very steep lean-to roof, which in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries was removed and replaced by a flat one, large windows being raised upon the two-storied Norman walls which were retained in their entirety. One great object in the alteration of the triforium in these East Anglian cathedrals was evidently to remove darkness, and thus this part of the church became a practicable gallery lighted from without.[1] In the northern triforium these windows are flat-headed ones of three lights, while those in the opposite one are of four, and have segmental heads.

The simple round-headed window lighting each compartment of the clerestory is seen through the high central arch of a triple arcade, whose shafts stand isolated, the thickness of the wall being such as to admit of a passage along its entire length.

In the aisles the original Norman windows have disappeared, except from the tenth and eleventh bays in the north, and the third and fourth on the south. They have been replaced chiefly by not very good Decorated ones of three lights, with tracery formed by continuing the mullions, crossing them in the heads, and foliating the spaces. The two compartments altered by Bishop Nix—viz., the seventh and eighth of the south aisle—have large Late Perpendicular windows of four unfoliated lights reaching to the vaulting, which rises considerably

[1] These great triforia at Ely, Peterborough, and Norwich may, in some respects, be compared with the Early Pointed tribunes of North-eastern France, such as we see in Nôtre Dame, Paris, St Remi at Rheims, Nôtre Dame, Chalons-sur-Marne, Senlis, Noyon, and Laon.

above the Norman one of the rest of the aisle—plain quadripartite work without ribs, springing from shafts set against the piers of the nave, and from half piers with semi-attached shafts against the opposite wall.

Throughout the aisles, however, the Norman arcading still exists below the windows. In the south aisle is some good modern stained glass. That in the sixth window, whose tracery is of a superior order to the rest, is by Wailes, and for its size it may be cited as one of the most pleasing windows executed by that artist between 1850 and 1860. It represents the Salvator Mundi standing between St Paul and St James the Less. Hardman's window in the western bay of Bishop Nix's work is also good, but O'Connor's in the eastern one is very inferior; the colours are harsh, and no attempt appears to have been made by the artist to reproduce the Third Age of stained glass either in drawing or tincture. It is, in fact, just such a window as he would have produced when under no proper architectural supervision. Another window by Hardman is in the tenth bay. It represents, in subdued yet brilliant tinctures, the three Cardinal Virtues. The figures are seated, and below each is a small subject illustrating the virtue within a predella. The eleventh and twelfth bays have each a good window by Clayton and Bell, in their latest style, with figures of Our Lord standing between the Blessed Virgin and St John, and of St George between St Andrew and St Patrick. The fourteenth and last compartment of this aisle contains the noble Decorated Prior's doorway from the eastern

walk of the cloister, with above it a small round-headed window ; the monks' doorway, which opens into the western ambulatory, is in the fifth bay. In the opposite aisle only one window has received its complement of stained glass. A memorial to Professor Smyth, who, for forty years, filled the Chair of Modern History at Cambridge (d. 1849), it is by Warrington, and, like too many of that artist's windows, suffers from antiquation. In the eighth bay an Early English door, with segmental head and curious carving in the spandrels, now blocked up, opened to the green yard of the priory, where sermons were occasionally delivered. The enormous length of the nave of Norwich is only realised when the visitor places himself at either extremity of the aisles.

The present west front is mainly due to Bishop Alnwick, who superimposed the present external Perpendicular screen and porch which forms the chief entrance. It would seem to have received its completion in Lehart's time, for in the spandrels is seen the inscription encircling in a roundel the arms of the See, " Orate pro animâ Domini Willelmi Alnwyk Episcopi," which would hardly have been placed there in his lifetime. Alnwick was translated to Ely in 1436, but he maintained his interest in Norwich. The west window, an immense composition of nine lights, very closely resembles the northern one of Westminster Hall. The stained glass which disfigures it was inserted half a century ago, as a memorial to Dr Stanley (Bishop of Norwich from 1837 to 1849, and father of Dean Stanley of Westminster). It is by Hedgeland, who, about

the time of its insertion—1852-54—was engaged in repairing the cinque-cento glass in King's College Chapel, Cambridge. To this circumstance, therefore, we may attribute the six large naturalistically treated groups, which, in whatever light they are looked at, are as bad as they can possibly be.

It is deeply to be regretted that one of the finest Perpendicular windows in the kingdom should be spoilt by so feeble a production. Let us hope that other work, more worthy of the excellent prelate whom it commemorates, may ere long take its place, and its flaring colours be relegated to a less prominent position. The group of tall Norman shafts on either side of the central portion of the façade are restorations of the last thirty years, but in their present state, seeing that they support nothing, their *raison d'être* does not appear very clear. To the casual observer, not acquainted with old views of the front, they might be taken for veritable Norman shafts intended to carry the arches of a western transept. The fronts of the aisles have preserved their original Norman character unaltered.

Until the dissolution of the monastery the nave of Norwich Cathedral was crossed by three screens. First, there was Lyhart's Perpendicular *pulpitum*, still existing within the twelfth bay in the form of the present organ-loft, and which completely cut off the part of the church appropriated to the religious from that of the laity. Of this screen the only original part is the doorway and the pillar piscina of the northern altar, which for a time was assumed to be that of St William, the little boy

murdered by the Jews of Norwich in 1143-44. Next was the screen or wall crossing the church at the pier between the tenth and eleventh bays, where the vaulting shafts are corbelled off instead of being brought down to the floor. This screen formed a reredos to the Holy Cross, or People's Altar, and was pierced by doorways towards either end, to allow the celebrant to pass completely round the altar when censing it at High Mass, and for the Sunday and other processions to pass through after making a station before the rood, which either stood on this screen or was supported by a beam placed a little above it.[1] This was flanked by side screens and enclosed westwards by a third screen, which would appear to have been of wood—a "cancellum," in fact, about 11 feet high, and fixed into the great cylindrical columns between which it stretched. Then, in continuation of these three screens there were others crossing the aisles, thus forming portions of the aisles into chantry chapels. It is impossible nowadays to form any idea of how much these gigantic English cathedral and abbatial naves were cut up, and enclosed by screens, and perverted from their original purpose in a way which perhaps had a greater effect in leading to the Reformation than some more important matters.

Before taking leave of the nave, pleasure must be expressed at the improvement that has been effected in its appearance since its unflaking and cleansing of the several coats of wash with which it had at divers times heen bedaubed. During the process

[1] Of this "People's Altar" screen, there is a fine example at St Alban's Cathedral.

THE NAVE FROM THE WEST

NORWICH . . . . CATHEDRAL

some most interesting remains of colour decoration came to light chiefly in the vault of the south aisle neighbouring to the great cylindrical column. It should not, however, be forgotten that the Norman builders themselves were the first to whitewash stonework.

The screen separating the nave from the choir supports the organ, lately rebuilt by Messrs Norman and Beard. I may here remind my readers that until the appointment of Dr Goulburn, of pious memory, to the deanery in 1866, it was customary for the choir to sing the service from this elevation on Sundays. The cathedral Statutes required that "the choristers' boys should be taught to sing and to play an instrument of music, and that the full choristers were each to receive an annual livery gown." These gowns, which were in all probability a remnant of the mediæval dress worn by the monastery children, were of purple cloth, and were always much admired by visitors to the cathedral.[1]

Surplices were only worn on Sundays, Saturday evenings, Saints' Days and their eves. With the coming of Dean Goulburn these interesting choir vestments were regrettably — from an antiquarian point of view—discarded in favour of the purple cassocks now worn on ferias by the Norwich choristers.

From 1819 to 1877 the post of organist was held by Dr Zechariah Buck, who was regarded as one of the most gifted and talented trainers of boys in

[1] In his very charming drawing of the choir, made about 1830, Charles Wild has introduced several figures of the Norwich choristers in these gowns.

singing in England. Under this extraordinary man, of whom countless diverting anecdotes are related in a centenary memoir of him by the late Frederic Kitton, with reminiscences contributed by pupils, friends, and contemporaries, the services at Norwich Cathedral reached an excellence that, from a musical point of view, was shared by few others in the country. Two of the old Doctor's most admired compositions were his anthems, "I heard a voice from Heaven," written for the funeral of Bishop Stanley, 22nd September 1849, and "Come hither, angel tongues invite," written for, and sung in procession at the enthronement of his successor, Dr Hinds, at the close of the same year.[1] Concerning this anthem the following amusing anecdote, recounted by Mr C. R. Quinton, one of Dr Buck's choir boys from 1874 to 1877, in some "Recollections" appended to Mr Kitton's memoir, is sufficiently characteristic of the old Norwich organist:

"The boy selected to sing the recitative, 'O Holy Messenger, in vain my wishful eye to Heaven I strain; I see no City in mid-air, no bridal vision strange and fair,' could not be made to impart that feeling of disappointment which the Doctor desired should be manifested by the words, 'I see no City.' He apparently abandoned the seemingly hopeless task, for another solo was rehearsed by another chorister; but presently he began to look down upon the floor as if in quest of something, and remarked to the first boy, 'Have I dropped sixpence? just have a look for it.' The boy, after searching in vain for the (ostensibly) missing coin, at length remarked in a tone of despair, 'I see no

[1] The words are from Bishop Hinds' *Sacred Poems and Sonnets* (1846).

sixpence, sir.' 'Ah,' observed the Doctor, 'that's the kind of expression I want for 'I see no City.' Now, then, try the recitative again.' It is needless to add that better results followed."

Here is another anecdote culled from the same interesting source, related by another old Norwich boy,[1] and corroborating the statement that Dr Buck was exceedingly particular regarding the diet of those boys whose voices were eminently serviceable in solo-singing. "A Norfolk clergyman (well known in musical circles of that day) desired to favour a party of friends at his own house with a rendering of Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, and he asked Dr Buck if he would lend him a boy to assist in the solos. The wish was complied with, and I was the boy selected for the occasion, *à propos* of which I vividly remember, as though it happened yesterday, an incident which covered me with confusion. The dinner came before the music, and the guests had taken their seats, a place being found for me at a small side table; presently, while the first course was being served, a note arrived for the host, who, observing its nature, proclaimed his intention of reading it aloud to those assembled around the festive board, and, amid breathless silence, he announced the contents of the brief missive, which ran thus:

"'Dear Sir, please don't let little Gaul have any pudding.—Yours faithfully, Z. BUCK.'"

One of Dr Buck's most distinguished predecessors as organist of Norwich Cathedral, was Dr John Christmas Beckwith. His fine anthem, "The Lord is

[1] Mr A. R. Gaul, the well-known organist and composer, of Birmingham.

very great and terrible," is still one of the favourite pieces in many of our cathedrals. Like his contemporary, Dr John Clarke (afterwards known as Clarke Whitfeld), he was an admirer of Handel. His extemporaneous funges were remarkable.

The great height of the organ-case so effectually conceals the choir from the nave, that it is only when the visitor has passed beneath the deep screen—lately furnished with finely wrought iron gates from the ateliers of Mr W. Bainbridge Reynolds — that the full grandeur of the eastern parts of the church burst upon him. Extending as it does two bays west of the transept, the choir of Norwich Cathedral has an appearance of unusual length, but its effect is somewhat impaired by being overcrowded with benches, the heavy organ screen precluding the use of the nave for congregational purposes.

On either hand, immediately on entering are the stalls, sixty-two in number, originally intended for the prior, sub-prior, and sixty monks. Their carving and details, which are Perpendicular, and probably of the fifteenth century, are excellent, and deserve the closest examination. The *misereres*, carefully examined and described by Mr Harrod in his "Castles and Convents of Norfolk," are of two periods. The earlier, which in all probability belong to the beginning of the fifteenth century, are marked by a ledge or seat with sharp angles; the later, which date from the end of the same century, have a ledge rounded at the sides, and sinking inwards at the centre.

The effect of the lantern, which, with its rich Norman arcading, is open to the height of three

stories, is most noble and imposing; but the narrow transepts, 195 feet long from north to south, devoid as they are of aisles, somewhat deprive the crossing of that spaciousness which lends such majesty to those at Ely and Peterborough.[1] In lieu of aisles each transept was provided with an apse on its eastern side. The southern apse has entirely disappeared, but the northern one is still in existence. It can, however, only be entered from without.

With the exception of their sixteenth-century vaulting, and the insertion of some Decorated windows in the ground storey on the western side of the northern transept, the Norman work in this part of the cathedral has descended to us marvellously undisturbed. Although aisleless, these transepts have their sides and ends divided into the three stories, corresponding with those of the nave choir and presbytery. The manner in which the simple round-headed windows in the second tier are seen through the central compartment of a triple arcade, corresponding to that in the one above, is very remarkable. In both transepts the wall of this storey, next to the arch opening into the aisle of the presbytery, has a tall intersecting Norman arcade, behind which is a staircase conducting to the upper parts of the church. The transparency representing the Ascension in a window on the eastern side of the south transept

[1] Until 1850, when some alterations were made in the choir under the direction of Mr Brown, a Norwich architect, the tower arches opening into the transepts were encumbered with tall wooden erections in eighteenth-century Gothic, comprising pews below and a gallery above, as may be seen in the drawing by Wild in his Cathedral Series.

was removed here in 1847, from the central window in the triforium of the apse. It dates from 1826, and is a copy of one executed about 1780, by the Lady of Dean Lloyd, but not properly vitrified. As a specimen of the work of that epoch, it is interesting, and on that account merits preservation.

The low-vaulted room at the south-east angle of this transept, now the vestry, was originally the sacristy. It is Decorated, and the chamber above it was in all probability a chapel of St Edmund.

The presbytery, or that portion of the cathedral east of the lantern, is much loftier than the nave and transepts, owing to the clerestory which Bishop Percy so skilfully raised upon the Norman work between 1363 and 1370. In the apse, and on the south side of the presbytery, the tracery in these windows is transitional between Late Decorated and Perpendicular, but on the north side it belongs entirely to the latter style.

Between the windows on both sides are lofty deep niches, feathered and canopied, which doubtless once contained statues. From the top of these niches spring the ribs of the vaulting added a century later by Bishop Goldwell, and which, although featuring that in the nave, is inferior as regards its bosses, which are neither so elaborate nor so varied. Many of them bear the rebus of Bishop Goldwell (a well, *or*).

The windows in the clerestory of the apse, which still retain something of the Decorated element, are so close to each other that there is no room for anything between them but a cluster of slender shafts, from which the groining ribs of the vault spring with startlingly beautiful effect. For the period of

its execution (1851-54) Warrington's stained glass which fills these windows, is excellent, because in lieu of employing minute groups he has given us two tiers of single figures beneath canopies. The tinctures are very fair, and the whole is devoid of that trickery of antiquation which spoilt so many of its artist's works. There is also a very fine piece of recent stained glass in the central window of the triforium, whose walls have retained their original character more perfectly than anywhere else in the cathedral. The square-headed windows lighting the triforia of the presbytery are late insertions, but far superior to those in the nave, both in detail and execution.

Here the Late Decorated tracery, alternating with Perpendicular, proves how hard the former style died in this part of the country.

At first sight, the manner in which the four eleventh-century arcades on either side the presbytery have been encased in Perpendicular, gives one the idea that it was a commencement towards concealing the whole of the Norman work here, as in the choir at Gloucester.

It appears, however, that it was done intentionally, the Norman workmen having built the presbytery at Norwich slightly out of the straight line, so that a line drawn through the centre of the nave would strike the east end of the eastern limb some inches south of the actual point of it. To correct this deviation in some measure, these arcades have been built in not very pleasing Late Perpendicular; and the consequence has been, that the central shaft of the two eastern arches on the south side would, if it had been left in its place, have overhung the

parapet. It has, however, been completely removed, and the wall made flat up to the spring of the arches. All the shafts in the same position on the north side are pared down in a similar way.

Of the six chapels which originally fringed the Norman aisles of the presbytery and apse, three alone remain — the interpolated Late Decorated one of St Mary the Less, or Beauchamp Chapel, rectangular and richly vaulted, opening out of the southern aisle, and the St Luke's and Jesus Chapels, which form part of Losinga's original work, opening from the procession path. Both these chapels are circular, with an additional semi-circular recess for the altar on their eastern sides, and are continued to the height of the original Norman walls of the triforia. Both these circular chapels were restored, thirty years ago, under the direction of Sir Arthur Blomfield, who reproduced their original polychromatic decoration with, perhaps, too little reserve; but the stained glass, with which their windows—some Romanesque, others insertions of the Decorated and Perpendicular periods — are equipped, is very good. It is the work of Hardman and Powell. St Luke's Chapel long served as the parish church of St Mary in the Marsh, and contains the richly carved, but now much mutilated font once belonging to that church.

In the Jesus Chapel some old tiles, found *in situ* during the restorations, have five specks upon each of them, seeming at first sight like mere flaws in the work, but seen on a closer inspection to be designed, most probably, in remembrance of the Five Wounds of Our Lord. These specks have been reproduced

in the fascimile tiles with which the chapel is now paved. There are Jesus Chapels in several other great churches, such as St Alban's, Worcester, Malvern, and elsewhere. Dr Rock, in his "Church of Our Fathers," tells us that "Jesus Mass" was a very favourite devotion in this country, supposing it to have been the Mass proper for Fridays in the Sarum Missal, and thence called "the Mass of the Five Wounds."

The exquisite Early English arches, rich in the four-leafed ornament, which gave entrance to the Lady Chapel, are all that now remain to indicate its architectural beauties. The Norman chapel was like the Jesus and St Luke's Chapels in plan.

In John of Oxford's time (1175-1200) the damage done to the circular Lady Chapel by the fire was repaired, and we are therefore led to believe that it was rebuilt, but, from whatever cause, it seems to have fallen into decay. Bishop Suffield (1245-57) therefore determined to replace it by an entirely new structure, rectangular, measuring about 90 feet by 30, and rising to a much greater height than its Norman predecessor.

The *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin having developed itself in the Church during the Middle Ages with a morbid activity, her chapels naturally became leading objects of interest, and would be maintained in due repair, and from time to time enlarged and enriched. The theological reaction which set in at the Reformation operated to the neglect of these structures, and that of Norwich fell into gradual decay, and as it was no longer used for worship, it may have seemed burdensome to keep it up.

Anyhow, its fast dilapidating walls were ruthlessly destroyed by Dean Gardiner between 1573 and 1589.

The foundations of this Early English Lady Chapel, as well as those of its predecessor, were laid open in 1817 in the garden which now bounds the cathedral on the east. They were of extraordinary solidity and strength.

At the same time, search wâs made for the foundation stone of the cathedral, on which is said to have been inscribed, "Dominus Episcopus Herbertus posuit primum lapidem, in Nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen," but in vain.

The heads of the two beautiful Pointed arches once leading into this chapel, as well as the large quatrefoiled circle above them, have been filled with white glass covered with delineations in lines of flowers, foliage, etc., interspersed with bands of coloured glass, altogether forming rich and varied patterns. Besides that of the Lady Chapel, the sites of two others remain on the north side of the north presbytery aisle.

In the central arch of the apse, at a considerable elevation, is the original bishop's throne, a large structure resting upon a round-headed arch which is seen from behind. Of the actual chair in which the bishop sat, only the right arm and the seat remain. In the arches on each side of the throne, the stone seats for the clergy in attendance upon him still exist at a lower level. I believe no English church, except Norwich Cathedral, has a relic of a bishop's chair in the true basilican position, *i.e.*, facing westward.

Another interesting object is preserved in the

procession path, carefully framed and glazed. This is a painting of the latter part of the fourteenth century, formerly the altar-piece of the Jesus Chapel. Mr Albert Way attributes it to Siennese artists, but Dr Waagen, in his "Art Treasures in Great Britain,"[1] has *no doubts as to its nationality*, considering it to be "of great significance in the history of English painting." It is about 8 feet long, and contains in five compartments the Flagellation, the Via Dolorosa, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension.

"Here," says Waagen, "that idealistic tendency so often mentioned is still adhered to; the well-arranged drapery is of great softness; the colouring powerful, and, in many of the heads, of great warmth; finally, the treatment in size colours is broad, and in full body. Both the figures and the raised elegant patterns of the gold ground entirely resemble the indubitable English miniatures of the same period; so that there is no question, in my mind, as to the English origin of this picture."

A vault crossing the north aisle of the presbytery at its most easternly bay, and supporting a gallery known as the Confessio, has given rise to much discussion among archæologists. It was in all probability a place for exhibiting the relics of the church kept in a chapel, now destroyed, but of which there are evident traces on the exterior. That it had an immediate connection with this gallery is proved by the traces of steps leading up to it from the choir. The quadripartite Norman vault over this gallery has four painted groups, each composed

[1] Vol. iii., p. 437.

of three figures. Those on the western quarter are, the Blessed Virgin and Child between St Margaret and St Catherine; on the eastern one St Peter, St Paul, and St Andrew; on the northern St Martin, St Nicholas, and St Richard; and on the southern St Edmund, St Lawrence, and a bishop.

The cloisters, nestling on the south side of the long-drawn nave, are perhaps only excelled by those of Gloucester in richness and imposing architectural effects.

Although built at different periods between 1297 and 1430, we find a general uniformity of style running through the details of this stately quadrangle. This is chiefly observable in the details of columns, capitals, and groinings, and even in many of the mouldings of the four walls. Yet, by close examination, a progressive change in architecture may be found in the tracery of the windows, commencing with those of the eastern ambulatory, continuing through the southern and western ones, and terminating with the northern walk.

By the rebates in the mullions of the upper parts of their fenestration, it may be concluded that the cloisters at Norwich were originally glazed. At the south-west angle, whence one of the few good general views of the cathedral is to be had, are two lavatories, and the whole roof has a great number and variety of bosses at the meeting points of its groining ribs.

In the eastern walk are the three grand entrances to the destroyed Chapter-house, which, despite the late period of its erection, was an oblong with a three-sided apse. The original Norman one was of

the same shape, which in Decorated times was chosen in preference to the octagon, partly from considerations of sentiment and partly from those of site.

In the bench table, close to the Prior's Door at the north-east angle, we have evidence, in certain holes bored in the stonework, that this part of the cloisters was appropriated to the novices of the monastery for the games which they played in their hours of relaxation. Such traces of games may generally be found on the bench tables of cloisters where they have not been "restored away," excellent examples remaining at Canterbury, Westminster, Gloucester, and Salisbury, though they are rarely pointed out to the notice of visitors.

A door in the last bay of the western walk opens into the choristers' school-room. This was, in pre-Reformation days, The Parlour (Locutorium), the meeting place with visitors and trades people.

The abbeys of Peterborough and Evesham had the "regular parlour" and "private parlour." At Bristol, Carlisle, and St Mary's, York, it was on the east side of the refectory; at Gloucester, and many other houses, it stood on the east side of the cloister. The "private parlour" was for intercourse with strangers; the "regular parlour" was identical with the calefactory, a room provided with a fire for the use of the monks in cold weather; at Abingdon, one, as at Durham, adjoined the Chapter-house, the other was on the west side of the cloister, under the Abbot's Lodge; at Canterbury, a monk after absolution was revested in the parlour; at Lincoln, the canons had a common chamber in which a portion of the ceremony of installation was conducted. By

the Cistercian rule two monks might converse with the prior in it, during reading time.

Thirty-two years ago, in taking down one of the canonical houses attached to the cathedral at Norwich, the remains of the Norman refectory came to light. The house, then destroyed, was formed most awkwardly out of a long narrow gallery running over the south walk of the cloisters, together with two large Norman apartments above what is known as "the Dark Entry," at the south-east of the cloister area. It had, therefore, no ground floor, and was in most respects as ill-contrived and inconvenient a residence as possible. The refectory at Norwich lay along the side of the cloister furthest from the church,[1] extending its whole length. It must have been a grand hall, 150 feet long, lighted by a row of round-headed windows high up in the wall. These windows were pierced in the alternate spaces of a continuous arcade running from end to end of the room, both on the exterior and the interior. Within, there was a second arcade, a short distance beyond the first, forming a triforium. The lower part of the wall was also decorated with an arcade, but the whole of this had been cut away to gain space, so that it is only traceable through the arrangement of the masonry. Every feature of the upper arcade was recoverable, and a large portion of it remains *in situ*. Its preservation arose from having served as the south wall of the demolished prebendal houses, its outside face (to the north) forming the interior wall of the house. The opposite wall was

[1] As was always the case, in order that the noise and smell of the meals might not penetrate into the nave.

provided by the Decorated upper storey which runs round the cloisters. Till the change caused by the Reformation necessitated the patching up of a number of residences for the newly created dean and prebendaries out of the monastic buildings, the space between this wall and the refectory over the cloister walk remained roofless. The south wall of this refectory, together with some beautiful columns belonging to the infirmary of the monastery, forms a most valuable addition to the architectural interest of these very pleasant cathedral precincts.

CHAPTER VI

PETERBOROUGH

It is an observation that must frequently have occurred to such of us as make ecclesiastical architecture our study, that we can never go into an old church without learning something new from it — some remarkable arrangement, some feature peculiar to its district, some mark of its date hitherto unnoticed. And it is by treasuring up such facts as these, that we form, amplify, and check our ecclesiological creed.

We can render great service to the study of church architecture by merely noting down, and introducing to the notice of others, such points as had assisted our own conclusions in churches which we may have happened to visit. Our inferences may not be always correct, still, the mention of them may assist in elucidating some of the many architectural problems which, in spite of modern research, are still presented by our ancient churches.

PETERBOROUGH . . CATHEDRAL

FROM THE NORTH

It is not only in the excellence of their detail and planning that English churches afford such an endless source of study and delight, but in the striking manner in which those of the several parts of England—I might almost say, of each county—differ from each other; so much so, indeed, that persons conversant with architectural localisms might say, with a considerable degree of certainty, where they were by the architecture of the churches, and particularly by the forms of their towers and spires.

If there is one charm in the landscape which England more eminently supplies than any other country, it is the village church. There are few hills which the eye, if it glances over the wooded vale lying beneath, can fail to discover some steeple rising above the trees. Perhaps it is the familiar beacon-turreted tower of the home counties, or the simply battlemented one of Cheshire. Perhaps it is the low-tiled pyramidal capping, or the short slate spire of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. Perhaps it is one of those broached or pinnacled stone spires that grace Northants, Leicestershire, and Lincolnshire; the simple tapering one that rises from the low, sturdy tower of a Kidlington or a Shottesbrooke in Oxfordshire; the richly panelled stone tower of the Western, or the economical flint one of the Eastern counties. Even the humble bellcotes of Forest Hill, Manton, and Skelton lend their charms to the landscape.

France and Germany have their village churches, too, but those of the latter, especially, cannot compete on any terms with our own. Once they might have been able to do so, but, though we have had the Reformers, the Puritans, and the corrupt era of the

Georges, France and Germany have had an application, if possible, worse. It is true that such sacrilegious scamps as Dowsing at Norwich and Blue Dick at Canterbury did as much mischief in a few weeks as time with its slow pace could do, or rather undo, in centuries. Still, for the most part, their greedy fingers were content with destroying only those things that came easily within their reach, and perhaps an equal amount of mischief was done by the combined apathy and ignorance of another age. But abroad, the very fabric itself seems to have become an object of vengeance, and in a revolution, or one of those religious wars of which Germany was so often the theatre after her breach with Rome in the sixteenth century, the village church was frequently levelled for strategical purposes, so much so as to be valueless in an architectural point of view upon its reconstruction.

There are parts of England in which the town and village churches are more imposing, superior in detail, or more generously distributed than others. In churches of the latter class, perhaps no county is richer than Northamptonshire, and particularly the valley of the Nen, from Wellingborough to Peterborough. Here we have an unbroken line of churches, handsome, and of moderate size, neither swelling into minsters nor sinking into chapels, amid which, from the Pre-Conquest Brixworth and Earl's Barton to the Tudor Whiston, we can most advantageously study the mediæval history of England as it is writ in stone. In this delightful district there are three places which may be recommended as headquarters for the most convenient exploration of this splendid

galaxy of churches. The first is Higham Ferrers, with its noble double-naved church and remarkable group of buildings, raised by Archbishop Chichele in honour of his birthplace and in gratitude for his own great fortunes. Hence, charming tourettes may be made in one direction to Rushden, Wymington, and Irchester; in another to Chelveston, Stanwick, Raunds, Ringstead, and Denford; and in a third to Irthlingborough, Finedon, and the Addingtons, in all of which the sketch or notebook will be in constant demand.

The second good *point de départ* is Thrapston —uninteresting in itself, but convenient for such gems as Islip, Titchmarsh, the Aldwinckles, and Lowick. From Oundle, our third halting place— a delightful old Nen-side town whose lofty steeple commands a tract of country—

> "Displaying on its varied side the grace
> Of hedge-row beauties numberless,"

we may explore Polebrook and the Barnwells in one direction, and Cotterstock, Tansor, Warmington, Fotheringhay, and Castor in another, the noble pile which forms the subject of our present chapter constituting a fit *comble* to the whole.

The conventual establishments of Northamptonshire were neither numerous nor important; and in no county, with the exception of its glorious cathedral, have they so entirely disappeared. Peterborough Cathedral can, however, hardly be said to belong to Northamptonshire; it is but a stone's throw from the border, and forms one of that grand series of splendid abbeys extending through the fen

country, of which no other is to be found within the limits of the county. Nor can its architecture be said to have exercised much influence over that of the parish churches. It therefore stands alone, this pride of Anglo-Romanesque, with its gigantic triple portals — a design *per se*, and hardly to be judged by ordinary parallels; its solemn, comparatively unaltered body; and its group of steeples in which the south-western one is alone required to complete a group that would be unparalleled in Northern Europe.

Sir Gilbert Scott was particularly fond of the view of Peterborough Cathedral that I have selected for illustration. Indeed, he was ever an enthusiastic admirer of this noble fenland minster, and when travelling northwards before the days of railroads, would always, if it were summer time, take a run round it while the coach stopped for half an hour. Excellent near views of this cathedral may be had from almost every point of its precincts, which were pleasingly laid out between 1820 and 1830 with a variety of trees and shrubs. Of the more distant views perhaps the most delightful is that from the meads to the east of the city, but most impressive of all is the first sight of its "majestick front of columel work," as the train enters the Great Northern Railway station, recalling to lovers of William Morris the following fine passage from his *Earthly Paradise.*

. . . . . "I who have seen
So many lands, and midst such marvels been,
Clearer than these abodes of outland men,
Can see above the green and unburnt fen
The little houses of an ancient town,
Cross-timbered, thatched with fen-reeds coarse and brown,

And high o'er these, three gables great and fair,
That slender rods of columns do upbear
Over the minster's doors, and imagery
Of kings, and flowers no summer field doth see,
Wrought in their gables."

Then, as the traveller passes beneath the gateway separating the precincts from the market place, the whole majesty of this unique façade bursts upon him.

Peterborough, originally called Medeshamsted, from the meadows on both banks of the river Nen in the midst of which it was placed, grew up like Bury, Croyland, Ely, Ramsey, Thorney, Kirkstead, Oseney, and Abingdon, around one of the largest and most important of those monasteries that were established among the fens and marshlands of East and Mid Anglia. Founded in 665 by Saxulf, a Saxon priest, under the patronage of Peada, King of Mercia, it was laid waste two centuries after by the Danes under Inguar and Hubba; and after lying desolate until about 966, was rebuilt by Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, who caused it to be peopled with Benedictine monks, and dedicated to St Peter. The name of the town was then changed to Burgh, probably on account of its being surrounded with a wall of defence, which name being incorporated with that of the apostle became Peterborough, or St Peter's Town.

The Saxon church, the foundations of which were discovered on the site of the present south transept in 1887, was of comparatively humble dimensions; but the monastery rose to great wealth and importance, so much so that when in 1118, under the Norman

rule, John of Seez became its head, he determined to rebuild the church and its adjacent buildings on a scale of splendour commensurate with its rank.

The work of this abbot, and of his immediate successors, Henry of Anjou and Martin of Bec, comprised the apsidal choir with its aisles, and the eastern side of either transept.

Abbot William de Waterville resumed the building of the transepts in 1155, built three stages of the central tower, and two bays of the nave, sufficient to resist the thrust of the former, and to contain the stalls of the monks. Between 1177 and 1200, Abbots Benedict and Andrew carried on the nave westward. To the latter we owe that gigantic western transept which, although a favourite feature with the Rhenish architects[1] during the first half of the thirteenth century, occurs only in this country at Ely. Some time during the first half of the thirteenth century, though the exact date is not known, this, the most glorious of our abbey churches, was completed in all essentials by that deeply-recessed Early English façade which in England at least may be considered peerless.

Thus in Peterborough Cathedral we have a perfect illustration of the progress of architecture from the massive Norman of the choir, through the lighter work of the transepts and nave, to the Transition of the western transept which so beautifully links

[1] It occurs in its most grandly developed form in the churches of St Cunibert and the Holy Apostles at Cologne. We also find it in St Andrew's at Cologne, St Quirinus at Neuss, and at Tirlemont near Liège. There is a curious instance of a short transept on either side the western tower of St Gregory's, Norwich.

the pure round-arched style with the pure Early Pointed.

The changes in style brought about by subsequent epochs of architecture, effected little or no alteration in the original ground plan. An addition was made in 1272, when Prior William Parys commenced a Lady Chapel on the eastern side of the north transept, from which it was entered; consequently, it was much closer to the wall of the north aisle of the choir than the sumptuous one raised half a century later at Ely. Begun as it was at an epoch when the Early English style was merging into the Decorated,[1] this Lady Chapel at Peterborough must have been one of the most beautiful structures of its age and class, to judge from such remains of it as two arches built up in the first and second bays of this transept, and from the window occupying the third bay; but at the Restoration it was demolished to supply materials for the reparation of the damage done to the church by Cromwell's soldiery in 1643. About coeval with the Lady Chapel is the north-west tower, a well-proportioned pinnacled one rising at the junction of the western transept with the aisle, and forming a noble feature in the group. Until early in the last century it retained that picturesque and original lead spire shown in Gunton's and Browne Willis' works on the cathedral. The south-western tower seems never to have progressed

[1] The three windows lighting the eastern aisle of the south transept are of the same period. They are graceful ones of three unfoliated lights, traceried with three cusped circles, and may be described as transitional between Early English and Decorated.

beyond the base prepared to receive it. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries left their mark on the building in the central lantern; in the spires which surmount the flanking turrets of the west front; in the alteration of the fenestration, almost throughout the church—the Norman windows being either removed altogether, or filled with Perpendicular tracery; and in the New Building, a rectangular structure, built, most probably, with a view to additional altar-space, and shrine-room, and very cleverly thrown into the church by simply removing the east end of either choir aisle, and opening the lowest tier of windows in the apse without disturbing its original Norman form.

Queen Catherine of Arragon, who died in January 1536 at Kimbolton, was brought to Peterborough for interment.

"For her sake," says Gunton in his History of the Cathedral (1686), "the church of Peterborough fared the better at the dissolution of abbeys and was turned into a cathedral, as if King Henry (like King Josiah, who favoured the grave of the Prophet) should favour his wife's grave in this place. Be it so or no, the goodly structure of the place, convenient situation for a new erection with accommodation thereunto, might make a fair plea for a reprieve from the stroke of that axe which cut others down."

Thus Peterborough Abbey was selected by Henry VIII. for the cathedral of one of the six bishoprics, which he created partly out of the revenues of the suppressed greater religious houses.

At the outbreak of the Civil Wars, Peterborough Cathedral, although it had been despoiled at the

Reformation, retained some of its ancient splendour. That "Lieutenant of Merry Norwich," to whom frequent reference has been made in these volumes, tells us that in 1634 the choir numbered "eight vicars, eight laymen, and eight boys," and that "its organs and voices were but indifferent." The "mourning hearses" of Queen Katherine and Queen Mary of Scots remained; the monument of Sir Humphrey Orme, the recent tomb and effigy of "Bishop Dove and a blind bishop" are duly commemorated, and the Lady Chapel happily preserved, as "Dame Amy's fair chapel, the ceiling above all richly gilt, and a place adjoining it where she lived an anchoress." And then he went into the cloister, "which for her structure is fair and large, and for her windows she excels any other cloister in England," and then tantalisingly opens their casements, and gives us a small light how he found them "curiously portrayed and painted." It is needless to add, not a fragment remains of the splendid list of subjects recorded by the Lieutenant, any more than of many of the "great vast buildings, and very spacious, on the south side of the cathedral;" for in 1643 Peterborough was occupied for a fortnight by two regiments of the Parliamentary troops commanded by Cromwell, when

"its glories were injured and defaced, not by the fury of the elements, nor by the devastation of a foreign invader, but from the calamities of a civil conflict, and the blind fanaticism of a sectarian leader. At that unhappy period, when religious animosity proved a worse enemy than the hand of the spoiler, Peterborough suffered in a greater degree

than any other cathedral in our land: particularly the holy part in which we are now assembled, the very sanctuary of God, was defaced and defiled with a malignity resembling that of Antiochus Epiphanes against the Temple of the Lord at Jerusalem."[1]

Besides all the seats, stalls, and wainscots, the Puritans destroyed a great brass chandelier hanging in the middle of the choir, and holding a dozen and a half of lights, together with another

"bow Candlestick about the Brazen Eagle, tapestries, the furniture of the altar, and the reredos, a curious piece of stone work admired much by Strangers and Travellers; a stately Skreen it was, well wrought, painted and gilt, which rose up as high almost as the roof of the church in a row of three lofty Spires, with other lesser Spires growing out of each of them, as it is represented in the annexed draught. This now had no Imagery work upon it, or any thing else that might justly give offence, and yet, because it bore the name of the High Altar, was pulled all down with Ropes, lay'd low and level with the ground."[2]

Painted on the ceiling of the apse above the High Altar was a picture of Our Saviour, seated on a throne, one hand erected, and holding a globe in the other, and attended with the Four Evangelists and saints on each side, with crowns in their hands, the whole representing what in sacred art is styled a "Doom." This, too, was singled out for destruction with muskets, the perpetrators crying out as they did

[1] From the sermon preached by Bishop Monk of Gloucester at the opening of the new choir at Peterborough, 25th July 1831.

[2] Gunton's "History of the Church of Peterburgh," in which there is a representation of the mediæval reredos.

so, "Lo! this is the God these people bow and cringe unto; this is the Idol they worship and adore." The stained glass throughout the cathedral was smashed, the cloister demolished, and the building afterwards used as a rope walk.

Perhaps this is the most appropriate place in which to introduce some remarks upon the several changes that have taken place in the arrangement of the choir at Peterborough. Here, as in the generality of cruciform Norman churches, where the eastern arm was short, the *chorus cantorum* occupied the floor space beneath the central tower and a small portion of the nave, leaving the eastern limb to form the ritual choir or presbytery.[1]

What the mediæval stall-work was like at Peterborough it is impossible to say, as it almost entirely disappeared during the devastation to which I have alluded.

In the Morning Chapel are two stalls with Early English columns and Jacobean backs and canopies, which would seem to be the only fragments that have escaped the general wreck.

On the Restoration of Charles II. and the return of ecclesiastical affairs to their former channel, the choir was refurnished with nothing better than the boarded ceiling torn down from the Lady Chapel, but about 1780, under Dean Tarrant, some additions

[1] As at Winchester, Gloucester, Chichester, St David's, and St Alban's, and formerly at Chester, Ely, Hereford, and Worcester. At Wells, until the enlargement of the eastern limb in the fourteenth century, the choir was under the central tower, the first three bays of the present choir forming the presbytery.

in the shape of an organ screen and an altar-piece were made by a clumsy clerk of the works, from the designs, so it is said, of John Carter.[1]

"It is not generally known, and it will scarcely be believed," says John Britton in the volume on this cathedral in his "Antiquities," "that the late Mr Carter was consulted, and gave the designs for these subjects, for the style and ornaments are rather of the Batty Langley than of the Carter school; and it cannot but excite astonishment that an artist, who knew so much, and was so severely censorious of others, could have given such designs. There seems no other way of accounting for them but by supposing that he made very slight drawings and sent them to Peterborough, where they were put into the hands of an ignorant and clumsy carpenter."

In a letter addressed to the Chapter clerk at Peterborough, Carter begs him to direct "the minster carpenter to fill up the tracery, etc., of the windows to the aisles of the choir," in order that he might finish his drawing "of the design of the new choir." The carpenter's explanations are rather curious specimens of orthography and syntax. He writes:

"I an a Nother person has taken all the pains we coud to inform you of the windows, I think you will understand the drawings—these windows is of the same design and of one same bignesse," etc.

From the survey of Peterborough Cathedral made very early in the eighteenth century by Browne

[1] For some account of this indefatigable antiquary, see vol. i., p. 25.

Willis, it is clear that the mediæval situation of the choral fittings was adhered to at the Restoration. So it remained until 1827, when, under the auspices of Dean Monk, a complete refurnishing of the choir took place from the designs of Edward Blore—one of the most accomplished architectural draughtsmen of his day, and, on that account, selected by Britton for the illustration of certain volumes in his Cathedral Series, but who certainly contrived at a later period to give us some of the most deplorable churches erected by the "Metropolis Churches Fund" between 1830 and 1840.

Belonging as they do to what may be termed the Præ-Puginesque period, Blore's stone screen, wooden stalls, throne, and pulpit at Peterborough, albeit well-intentioned and liberal in their cost, were tame and spiritless productions, though passing at the time for very satisfactory works indeed. Now, mediæval tradition was departed from, and the furniture of the choir confined to the eastern limb of the church, which it blocked up sadly, interfering with the noble isolated columns of the arcades, and imparting a cumbersome and heavy appearance to the whole. Evidently this refitting of the choir of Peterborough Cathedral in the reign of George IV. was considered an event of some national importance. Its opening on 25th July 1831 was chronicled in the Annual Register, and Miss Martineau alludes to it in her "Thirty Years' Peace," as a "new choir of great beauty," which made the church to appear "once more what it was before it was devastated by the Puritans." Dr James Henry Monk, during whose tenure of the deanery this work was begun, and

towards which he was a liberal contributor, took much interest in ecclesiastical architecture.

In 1830 he became Bishop of Gloucester, and when, six years later, the See of Bristol was suppressed and united with Gloucester, Dr Monk was active in the promotion and erection of churches in the fast-growing suburbs of the former city. Quite at the close of his episcopate, Bishop Monk, who earned his greatest reputation for the classical scholarship which he displayed, rebuilt at his own cost the church neighbouring to his palace at Stapleton. It is a very graceful Decorated structure, with a well-proportioned tower and spire, and was one of the most successful works of its architect, the late Mr John Norton. For some years Dr Monk held a canonry at Westminster,[1] and in 1861, five years after his death, the sumptuous Italian Gothic Church of St James-the-Less raised to his memory by his daughters—was completed in Upper Garden Street from the designs of Street. That Bishop Monk by his refitting of the choir of Peterborough Cathedral led the way to more correct works of the same kind, there can be no doubt; and whatever may have been its shortcomings, we are indebted to him for originating a movement and forming a school of workmen which steadily improved, and led the way to what has followed in other cathedrals.

At the close of 1882, the news that a greater part of the central tower of Peterborough Cathedral was "in a state of movement," which nothing short of entire reconstruction would remedy, created much

[1] He is commemorated in the north aisle of the nave of the abbey by a handsome brass.

alarm, once more rudely dispelling the poetic notion that—

> "In the elder days of art
> Builders wrought with greatest care
> Each minute and unseen part."

Accordingly, in the spring of 1883, the work of demolition began under Mr J. L. Pearson, and a year later, on 7th May 1884, the corner stone of the new tower was laid. During the progress of the work, a controversy arose respecting the style to be adopted, one party advocating the rebuilding of the tower exactly as it was before, viz., in Late Decorated, with its arches opening into the transepts Norman, and those to the nave and choir Pointed; while the other, headed by the architect, was for reconstructing the whole in Norman.

In this difficulty it was resolved to submit the question to Archbishop Benson, who, after most careful and masterly consideration, decided in favour of the Conservative party, so that, except for the omission of the pinnacles, put up by Dean Kipling at the end of the eighteenth century, and nicknamed "the chess-men," the central tower of Peterborough Cathedral has preserved that outline with which we are familiar. Of course, these works necessitated the removal of Blore's furniture from the choir, to which happily it never returned, for in connection with them it was resolved, not only to introduce entirely new fittings, but to bring the stalls for the clergy and choir into the two most easternly bays of the nave as at Norwich, leaving the transepts available for congregational purposes, and the eastern limb to form a dignified and ample presbytery.

The tower was completed in 1886, but three years elapsed before the nave could be relieved of the fittings which had been temporarily placed in it pending the works of reconstruction.

Splendid individual generosity enabled the choir to be furnished with every requisite for the performance of Divine Service, and the nave having been cleansed of the primrose wash with which (in common with the rest of the building) it had been overlaid, the whole of the magnificent Norman interior was thrown open, 2nd June 1892, when those who knew the cathedral before the reconstruction of the tower was the indirect means of bringing about so desirable a change, rejoiced at the marvellous improvement in the *ensemble.*

Once more Mr Pearson had to face the storm of criticism, this time in connection with the west front, which, in 1896, was discovered to be in a shaky condition. A strong opposition took the form of a newspaper correspondence, and combated, as before, that architect's intention of reconstructing the arches, which were evidently insecure, and argued for the retention *in situ* of all the existing external stones.

With characteristic acumen Pearson, who was sure of his ground, took no part in the controversy which, as usual, was pursued with great bitterness by the ultra anti-restorationists, and before his death in 1897, he had carried out a greater part of the work, in which, it is needless to say, he preserved every possible fragment of the ancient masonry; so much so that unless people were informed to the contrary, they would be unable to tell that this unique Early

English west front of "Peterborough the Proud" had been "restored" at all.

The first view of the interior of Peterborough Cathedral cannot fail to awe the most unimpressionable person as he crosses the threshold of that parvise porch, which the fourteenth century has inserted within the central archway of the great façade. It is most majestic, and to this effect the western transept, which opens out on either hand immediately on entering, largely contributes, enabling the whole of the grand Norman nave to be taken in at a glance. The three great Pointed arches opening into the nave and western transepts from the floor-space at this end of the building are exceedingly fine, rising as they do to the full height of the church. If Ely nave is the queen of twelfth-century Anglo-Romanesque, that of Peterborough is undoubtedly the king, and, like its august Cambridgeshire consort, may be taken as an expression of that greater amity which had begun to exist between English and Normans at the period of its construction. The heavy massive plain work of the earlier Romanesque at Durham and Norwich, and in the transepts of Ely and Winchester, bespeaks the stern and determined character of the men who came over with the Conqueror. In the naves of Peterborough and Ely the gathering up of the piers into graceful clusters of shafts may be taken as indicative of the combination of the Celtic, Norman, and Saxon elements. From that time the development of our architecture became continuous; each succeeding age bequeathed us something new.

Exclusive of the space occupied by the western

transept, the nave of Peterborough measures 211 feet to the western arch of the lantern. Before Walsingham's octagon deprived each limb of one bay, the nave of Ely Cathedral exceeded that of Peterborough by some 15 feet. Longest of the three East Anglian Norman naves is Norwich, which, if we take it from the west door to its junction with the transepts, measures 252 feet, though not appearing so long, because the last three of its fourteen bays are occupied by the choir stalls and ponderous organ screen.

The absence of stained glass, combined with the recent flaking to which it has been subjected, causes the nave of Peterborough to appear somewhat cold at a first glance.

This impression, however, soon wears off, and the eye learns to dwell contentedly upon the ample triforia and clerestories, the long line of painted ceiling, and the nobly vaulted aisles, which should be entered by one of the doors communicating with the site of the cloisters, for the sake of the superb *coup d'œil* presented by their long-drawn character, and for the delightful cross views obtainable from them in every direction. The aisle windows, with their five lights, incipiently traceried and grouped beneath a segmental arch, are late thirteenth-century insertions, and afford a fine field for the display of stained glass. The triforium arcade—a round arch enclosing two smaller ones with the tympanum unpierced—closely resembles that of Ely, and, like it, underwent great alterations in the fourteenth century, when the outer walls were raised, the sloping roofs converted into flat ones, and the windows entirely altered in the style of their age. They are segmental-

headed ones of three lights, with curvilinear tracery similar to those in the apse, and, with the earlier windows in the aisles, and the Perpendicular tracery that has been inserted in the Norman windows of the clerestory, combine to impart an air of great richness to the elevation viewed exteriorly, much as we may regret the loss of the original arrangement.

One great object in the alteration of the triforium at Peterborough, and also at Ely and Norwich, was evidently to remove darkness, and thus these triforia became practicable galleries lighted from without. But even before their alteration these three great East Anglian triforia must have assumed very imposing dimensions, though hardly to be compared in point of completeness with their vaulted contemporaries at Laon, Noyon, Nôtre Dame, Paris, and other great North-eastern French churches, where the Pointed arch was in full use, while we and the Germans had hardly availed ourselves of its marvellous resources.

It was a full century before English builders gained sufficient courage and skill to throw a stone vault over their wide central spaces. In the ceiling of the nave and transepts at Peterborough, we have a specimen—the only one that has survived the casualties of the elements, or the more ambitious taste of later generations of church improvers—of the mode of roofing wide central areas universal during Norman times in England. To be sure, a flat ceiling is found covering the nave in the Norman cathedral of St Alban's, and, until of late years, that of Southwell, but these are later imitations of the original roofs. It was not that the constructive

principles of vaulting were unknown, for, during the whole of the Norman period, the aisles of our great churches were regularly vaulted in stone. But the Anglo-Norman builders were indifferent engineers, as the repeated falls of their central towers proves, and the timidity and self-distrust of inexperience crippled all their efforts in a new and untried path.

So much was this the case, that, though in the cathedral of Durham — perhaps our most original and satisfying Norman church — the vaulting shafts show that a stone roof formed part of the architect's designs from the first, it was not until the style was passing through the Transitional period into Early English, that builders were found sufficiently bold to carry out the intention. As originally built, the painted ceiling of the nave at Peterborough was flat, but when, warned by the fate of the Norman tower at Ely, the monks of Peterborough rebuilt theirs about the middle of the fourteenth century, and changed the eastern and western arches supporting it from Round to Pointed, it was necessary to make an alteration in the shape of the roof.

It is still flat, but with sides of sufficient slope to enable it to clear the apex of the western arch of the lantern. The Norman arches opening from the crux into the transepts being retained, no alteration in their roofs was necessary, and on that account they are very valuable. In the choir, the roof belonging to the Perpendicular period is still of wood, and flat in the centre, but the groining ribs which start from the old Norman shafts are carried up to meet the flat portion in a curve which follows the eastern arch of the lantern. Above the apse,

THE CHOIR LOOKING EAST

PETERBOROUGH . . CATHEDRAL

however, the roof retains its entirely flat character, and is in consequence somewhat lower than that over the choir. It was decorated in 1855 with a painting by Mr J. R. Clayton (from the designs of Sir Gilbert Scott) of Our Lord as the True Vine—a calm, grand figure—like, but not identical with, that of the Session in Majesty destroyed by the muskets of the Protector's soldiery.

The choir stalls, returned at the west end in the mediæval manner, occupy the last two bays of the nave, and, as well as the bishop's throne, pulpit, baldachino over the High Altar, and other furniture, are from the designs of the late J. L. Pearson, R.A.

The iconography of the stalls is very appropriate, and the series with its spiral canopies emulates the ancient work at Chester and Lincoln.

From an antiquarian and artistic point of view, this reproduction of the mediæval arrangement of return stalls and a solid screen at Peterborough is praiseworthy. But, seeing that it must for ever debar the nave from congregational use, such a distribution is regrettable. The extension of the stalls into another bay, giving a return stall only to the Dean and Residentiary Canon, and the erection of a tall, open screen, in harmony with the rest of the woodwork, would have been more judicious. Under the present distribution of the fittings a large proportion of the congregation is seated in either transept, an arrangement well enough for the ordinary Sunday and daily services of the cathedral, as the pulpit and altar are admirably commanded from these points; particularly the latter, from the open character of the bays separating the eastern

limb from its aisles. The nave is destitute of furniture, save for a heavy "Romanesque" pulpit in red Mansfield stone, designed about thirty years ago by Mr E. M. Barry, and a lectern on the *motif* of that in New College Chapel, Oxford. Both were presented for use at the special Sunday Evening Services in the nave inaugurated in 1859, but they have rather a forlorn appearance in the otherwise unfurnished area.

Almost the only piece of ancient furniture possessed by the cathedral is the lectern in the choir, the inscription on which, as well as it can be deciphered after centuries of indefatigable cleaning, is supposed to read thus:

"Hæc tibi lectrina dante Petre metallica bina Johēs Malden prior et Will de Ramseya."

This would fix its date at about 1472.

The Roundheads played havoc with "the organs" at Peterborough, as they did with the rest of the furniture. At a Chapter meeting, held on 29th September 1680, it was ordered:

"That whereas the organ belonging to this church is judged too small and imperfect, there shall be a new one made to the proposals made by Mr Thamar,[1] now in the Dean's hands, as we shall hereafter agree with him upon the particular articles."

The sum agreed upon was £115, towards which the Dean contributed £15, and each prebendary £7, 10s.,

[1] Thomas Thamar (of London), generally referred to as living and working at Peterborough, and one of several organ builders who found plenty of employment at the Restoration.

For some particulars about the successive organs here, I am indebted to the editor of the *Musical Times*.

and Thamar was subsequently entrusted with the erection of the organ. In the time of Dean Lockier (1725-40) there is a reference in the Chapter Books to some measures being taken for the erection of a new organ by a builder named Kellinburgh, but nothing seems to have come of the proposal. If these old records do nothing else, they give us the names of some unknown organ makers, as they were called in times past. In 1809 William Allen, who also rebuilt the Lincoln organ seventeen years later, built a new organ of some twenty-four sounding stops at Peterborough. What the case of Allen's organ was like, I am unable to state, but it is not improbable that it was put into Thamar's Caroline one, which remained until the refitting of the choir between 1827 and 1831, when a new case to match Blore's stall-work was given to it. Holdich altered this organ in 1848, and Hill in 1871. It had a double key-board—one on the choir side for the ordinary services, and another on the south side for the nave services, and, as may be seen from photographs taken before the reconstuction of the central tower in 1883, stood in old established cathedral fashion on the heavy modern Gothic stone screen. The present organ, an entirely new one built by Hill, at the cost of £4,400 by an anonymous donor, is disposed above the northern range of choir stalls. Of the Peterborough organists, John Calah (1785-98) will be remembered as the composer of a double chant found in most old-fashioned collections.[1] He is buried in the New Building.

[1] In the third volume of his entertaining book, "Music and Friends," William Gardiner, the eminent stocking manufacturer of Leicester, and an enthusiastic musical amateur, tells us that

Passing along the last two bays of the aisles, now fenced off from the nave by the new choir fittings, with their, as yet, unfinished stone screen, the whole majesty of the eastern part of the church bursts upon the visitor. The transepts—each lighted on its principal face by three stories of Norman windows, filled with Perpendicular tracery—are deep, but broad, and the general effect, looking thence across the choir, whose arcades, since their emancipation from Blore's cumbrous wood-work, with its grisly imitation of Middle Pointed forms, are seen in all their simple solemn grandeur, has scarcely a rival in the kingdom. The splendour of the *ensemble* is no doubt heightened by the lantern, which is open to its full height above the four great arches of the crossing, showing the roof groined in wood, with the ribs of its lierne vault meeting at the centre in a boss, carved with a figure of Our Lord holding the orb of sovereignty.

Although the practised eye will discover other differences, the earlier character of the work here is chiefly proclaimed by the columns of the arcades opening into the eastern aisle of either transept, and also by those of what, since the instalment

on one of his journeys to Peterborough, about 1786, he "scraped acquaintance with the organist of the cathedral, Mr Calah, who presented me with a song that he had just published. Such was the want of new music at that time that trifles of this sort added to the reputation of a professor, and gave him distinction. I touched the organ, which was some hundred years old; the keys were so worn that it was like putting your fingers into a row of ivory spoons. As to execution upon such an instrument, it was impossible."

It may not be generally known that William Gardiner was one of the first to introduce Beethoven's music into this country.

of the *chorus cantorum* in the nave, must be styled the presbytery. Instead of being gathered up, as in the nave, into graceful clusters against the vaulting shafts, the piers in the whole of the church east of the lantern are ponderous masses, some circular and others polygonal, with plain cushion capitals, but they are of the same height as those in the nave, likewise the triforium and clerestory, so that, as at Ely, the continuity of leading lines is a remarkable feature.

The apse is a feature never really satisfactory without a groin, but in spite of this deficiency the aisleless one at Peterborough must be styled truly grand, and, although much altered in regard to its fenestration, has kept its Norman character wonderfully well. Just within it stands the High Altar, with its Italianising Gothic baldachino of richest materials—only one of those gifts made to the cathedral within the last dozen years or so by that "alienated laity" of whom we hear so much nowadays. Groups of tall slender Norman shafts divide the apse into five deeply splayed compartments of four stories, in which the three uppermost have windows. Except in the two lowest stories, where the Norman work has been completely concealed by Perpendicular, these five compartments of the apse at Peterborough communicate with one another by arches cut in the walls.

Each side of the ground storey is occupied by five modern Late Decorated niches with projecting canopies. In the next tier, the Norman work has been quite lost in the Decorated, the inner face of the splay having an ogee arch, cusped and subcusped

within a square label, and the outer one Perpendicular tracery, through which, it being unglazed, most delightful peeps can be had into the New Building.

The two side windows of this tier are built up, but the Decorated tracery still remains in them, proving that all the windows in this storey had been altered before undergoing a second change on the erection of the New Building. The third and fourth ranges of the elevation, level with the triforium and clerestory of the presbytery retain their Norman inner arches; but the windows in the depth of the wall are Late Decorated ones of three lights, those in the clerestory tier being more obtuse-headed than the ones below them. Much as we may regret the disappearance of the original Norman fenestration of this apse at Peterborough, it must be conceded that the dainty branching tracery of the windows, interpolated by Late Gothic architects for greater facility of vitreous decoration, not only here but throughout the cathedral, imparts, as I have already noticed, an appearance of richness to the whole, without detracting very seriously from its Norman grandeur.

It is to be regretted that stained glass of so indifferent a character should fill the windows in this part of the cathedral. Most of it is modern, but some fragments of old glass, collected from various parts of the church by Dean Tarrant between 1764 and 1791, have been worked up with it. The ancient portions may be looked for in the central window of the two upper tiers.

The ever-increasing splendour of the services in this most majestic of abbeys, coupled with the

demand for room in which to display those shrines and reliquaries in which Peterborough was very rich, called for an enlargement somewhere. The result was, that in 1438 Abbot Ashton commenced what is styled the "New Building," which occupies the place assigned in a greater number of our cathedrals and large churches to the Lady Chapel.[1]

The architect of this addition to the cathedral appears to have gone about his work in a very conservative manner, merely removing the east end of either choir aisle,[2] and prolonging the wall to the length of four bays, until he had obtained a spacious parallelogram, squaring the Norman apse of the choir very skilfully. A little longer from north to south than from east to west, this New Building is exactly coincident in width with the nave and aisles of the cathedral. The windows, four on the north and south sides, and five on the east, are good examples of Perpendicular work, with acutely Pointed arches, those on the two former sides being each of three lights, and those on the latter of four;

[1] At Peterborough, as I have already stated, the Lady Chapel opened out of the eastern aisle of the north transept.

[2] Whether the aisles originally terminated apsidally or rectangularly does not seem quite clear. Mr F. A. Paley was inclined to the latter belief, and this, seeing that each of the great transepts was planned with an eastern aisle affording room for six chapels, is in all probability correct. Whatever shape it took, the east end of either choir aisle was rebuilt in the Early English period and a short chapel formed, as may be seen by the work still existing. Until the erection of the New Building, the High Altar must have stood considerably westward of the apse to allow of a procession path being formed behind it.

and, when filled with stained glass, must, together with the bold fan-traceried vaulting and the richly appointed altars, of which one doubtless stood below each window facing east, have presented an appearance of much splendour. Externally each buttress mounting up into a turret commensurate in height with the parapet surrounding the New Building, terminates in the seated figure of an apostle. Worked into the parapet the initials R.A. (Richard Ashton, the abbot under whom this part of the cathedral was begun), and R.K. (Robert Kirton, the abbot who carried it on to completion), together with their rebuses—an ash-tree on a tun, and a church (kirk) on a tun—may be distinguished; also the alternate monograms, I.H.C. and M. (Jesus and Mary). The string-course above the east window has the name Karton, which over another window is spelt backwards, Notrak.

In the southern aisle of the choir, just within the fourth bay, is the stone marking the spot where, for twenty-five years, the body of Mary Queen of Scots rested until its removal by order of her son James I. to Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster. It was not until six months after her execution in the neighbouring Castle of Fotheringhay that the body of the unfortunate Queen was interred here by torch-light 30th July 1587, when it was met at the entrance of the cathedral by Bishop Howland, who conducted it in solemn procession to the vault prepared for it, in which it was immediately laid.

Fifty years before, another queen had been laid to rest beneath the vault of Peterborough the Proud—Catharine of Aragon, who died in dignified retirement at Kimbolton Castle on the 7th of January 1536.

No costly monument was ever raised over her remains, a slab of blue stone alone marking the spot. Upon this circumstance Dr Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of Western New York passes some well-chosen reflections in his pleasant book, "Impressions of England," the result of a tour during the Great Exhibition year of 1851. His visit to Peterborough was paid on a Sunday, and while the bells were ringing for Morning Service he stood in the nave,

"wholly lost in contemplation of its plain but massive majesty. A band of children entered with their teachers, evidently a Sunday School. I watched the little procession as it wound its way among the columns and turned to the left of the choir. Following them, I saw them enter the choir by a small side door, and as they stepped into it every little foot fell on a slab of stone, in the centre of which was a little brass plate not so large as one's hand. When all had gone in, and were kneeling in their meek array, I drew near and stooped down to see over whose dust they had been treading. I read a few words, but they thrilled me like electricity: 'Queen Katherine, A.D. 1536'! Here then lies that proud daughter of Arragon, whose mournful history has left its mark upon nations and upon Christendom! The scene in Shakespeare rose before me—Cardinals—Bishops—Princes—Henry VIII.! This stone covers all, and peasant babes trip over it as lightly as if the life that lies extinguished there had been as simple as their own."

With which reflection I may not inappropriately close the description of this noblest of Norman

minsters, since it owes its preservation, and subsequent elevation to cathedral dignity, to that "queen, and daughter to a king," who, as she lay a-dying, expressed the wish to be "used with honour."

EXETER . . . .
CATHEDRAL

FROM THE SOUTH EAST

CHAPTER VII

EXETER

"I THINK the interior of this cathedral will, after all is done, be as charming as any in England." So wrote Sir Gilbert Scott in his "Personal and Professional Recollections," when, about thirty years ago, the great work of restoring this, our typical Decorated church, to something of its pristine beauty was approaching completion; and of the vast congregation that assembled within its walls on St Luke's Day, 1877, to celebrate the re-opening of the cathedral in its entirety, there was, perhaps, no one unwilling to confirm this opinion.

Like all our great churches, Exeter Cathedral possesses a very striking individuality. If, in its outward expression, it is deficient in aspiring grandeur, it is endowed with great breadth and repose. Of all our cathedrals in which the elongation of the choir has been formed by low eastern aisles, not rising to the full height of the building,

and arranged with an especial view to the circulation of processions round the church as they visited in succession the altars in its eastern portion, I know of none, Salisbury perhaps excepted, where the arrangement has been so artistically carried out as at Exeter. For this reason, therefore, I have selected for illustration the view of the cathedral from the delightful gardens of the Bishop's palace.

Internally, the chaste richness of its detail, its vaulted roof, its clustered columns, its windows rich in tracery of the very best epoch, enable Exeter Cathedral to stand without a rival in Christendom.

Foremost among the distinguishing external features of this cathedral is the transeptal character of the towers, and consequently the long unbroken line of ridge-crested roof. Remarkable, too, is the equal length of its nave and choir, equal also in the number of their bays, a very unusual feature either in a cathedral or any other mediæval church. Within, the most striking characteristic is the absence of that prominence usually given to the crossing, with its comparatively massive piers and four great arches dividing the nave architecturally from the choir.

There being no central tower at Exeter to carry the extra mass of pier, it is dispensed with, the great arches do not interpose, and the vault is seen at an unbroken vista from the west door to the grand Perpendicular window above the High Altar.

The peculiar position of the Exeter towers gave rise to a theory that they were the western towers of the original church built shortly after the Conquest by Warelwast, which had extended eastward from this point.

But this theory was fully disposed of by the late Archdeacon Freeman in a lecture delivered in 1871, at the outset of the restorations. That the towers formed transepts from the first will appear from the simple fact that they are outside the line of the aisles, an arrangement for western towers of which there is no Norman example, and none at all, with the exception of Wells, Canons-Ashby, and Rouen. In any case, if these towers at Exeter were western ones, the Norman church must have been extremely short, for it only extended three bays eastward of them. Towers on the eastern sides of transepts are not infrequent in the Early Gothic churches of Germany and North-eastern France, but of Continental instances of towers employed as transepts, I can only recall one—Geneva; while in England the solitary example is the collegiate church of Ottery St Mary, which, from its proximity to Exeter, was, in other points besides this, copied from it.

Until 1050 the See of Devon and Cornwall was at Crediton, but in that year Edward the Confessor caused it to be removed to Exeter, thus anticipating the Conqueror, not only in the work of transferring the seats of bishops from places of comparative obscurity to others of rank and importance, but of displacing Englishmen in favour of foreigners, Exeter being conferred on Leofric, a Burgundian.

A Benedictine monastery, with a church dedicated to St Peter, existed at Exeter at the time of the removal of the See. Here Leofric set up his throne, the monks were dislodged and sent to Westminster, and their church became the germ or nucleus of the new cathedral, which was constituted with secular

clergy, and thus became what is styled one of the Old Foundation.[1]

Leofric was thought to have shown a certain want of spirit and ambition, from the fact that he was content with the ancient buildings of these religious houses that had been founded by Athelstan, and restored after the Danish Wars by Canute. However, the second Norman bishop, Warelwast, who, like his contemporaries, was a great builder, was not satisfied with his cathedral, and in 1112 commenced a new one, of which the transeptal towers are the only surviving portion.

Bishop Marshall, who occupied the See from 1174 to 1208, extended the Norman choir eastward and built a Lady Chapel, and from the presence of a very beautiful Transition door in the south aisle of the nave, we may assume that he made alterations in other parts of the building. Under Bishop Bruere, in the first half of the thirteenth century, the rectangular Chapter-house was commenced, and the existing stalls erected; and between 1258 and 1280 Bishop Bronescombe began a series of works destined to metamorphose the Norman church completely. The Lady Chapel and its chantries were his work.

Quivil succeeded Bronescombe, but all he was enabled to carry out was the transformation of the transepts and the eastern bay of the nave, though he had doubtless conceived the whole majestic plan of rebuilding the cathedral on its present scale in his mind; for a Pointed cathedral is an *epopee* just as the *Iliad* or the *Æncid*, and is in one sense as

[1] Leofric also removed a nunnery from the site of the present Deanery in Calenderhay.

truly existent as a sonnet of Wordsworth's or a hymn of St Ambrose was, when its author should have composed it in his mind, though as yet he might not have committed one word of it to paper.

At Exeter it is very interesting to observe that, although the work of gradually supplanting the old Norman cathedral was in progress under successive bishops for seventy years, during which period the Geometrical phase of the Complete Gothic style had passed into the Curvilinear, and that in its turn into the Perpendicular, Quivil's noble design was faithfully adhered to throughout, and thus this "glorious work of fine intelligence" seems to have been created at once in its perfect state, rather than to have slowly grown to its consummate beauty. Between 1292 and 1307 Bishop Bitton had completely transformed the choir with its aisles. Stapeldon metamorphosed the choir transepts, built the rood screen, the unrivalled sedilia and bishop's throne during his tenure of the See from 1308 to 1326. Grandisson, the most magnificent prelate who ever ruled at Exeter, carried the nave on to completion between 1327 and 1369. To Brantyngham are due the great east window, the west front, and the cloister (1370-94). To Stafford, who ruled the See from 1395 to 1419, we owe the rich tomb canopies in the Lady Chapel. Lacey, saintliest of Exon's bishops, carried the Chapter-house to its present height, and glazed the nave windows between 1420 and 1455. Neville added the east window to the Chapter-house within the ten years following. Courtenay gave the sturdy northern tower of Warelwast its topmost storey and pinnacles late in the fifteenth

century. Early in the succeeding one, Bishop Oldham enriched different parts of the interior with those screens, whose grace and delicacy imparts distance and value to all the numerous chapels and chantries. For their date, these screens have a remarkably early character. Veysey, the courtliest of prelates who surrendered in 1551, finished that beautiful Speke chantry which had been begun by his predecessor. Coverdale, Hall, Gauden, Sparrow, Trelawney, Phillpotts ("Henry of Exeter"), and Temple, are distinguished holders of the See since the Reformation.

The ground plan of Exeter Cathedral, looked at as a ground plan, is perhaps only exceeded in beauty by that of her great north-eastern sister at Lincoln. It comprises a nave of seven bays, with the chapel of St Edmund at its north-west angle, and a porch in the fifth bay; transepts, not extending beyond the line of the aisles, but opening into the towers; and a choir of seven wide bays and one very narrow one. About the middle of either choir aisle, which is prolonged beyond the line of the east end to form a retrochoir or procession path,[1] is a chapel, that to the north bearing the name of St Andrew, that to the south of St James. Each end of the procession path terminates in a chapel, dedicated respectively to St George and St Saviour. Then, forming a still further continuation of the aisles, are two more

[1] This, however, was not always supplied. The cathedrals of Chester and Chichester afford instances of the omission of the constructional retrochoir, which it became necessary to introduce by leaving one or two bays at the east end of the choir behind the High Altar free.

chapels, that of St Mary Magdalene to the north, and that of St Gabriel to the south. Between them lies the Lady Chapel, which projects beyond for another two bays, its most westernly bay on either side opening into the two last-named chapels. Exeter Cathedral is unusually rich in these appendages, which appear to have formed part of the design from the first, for, in addition to the six already named, there are two others — St Paul's, opening from the eastern side of the northern transept, and St John Baptist's from that of the opposite one.

On the south side of the nave lies the cloister, partly rebuilt by Mr Pearson, who formed a Chapter library over it, and parallel with the southern tower, from which it is separated by the Early Norman chapel of the Holy Ghost, is the Chapter-house, which, as it was commenced early in the thirteenth century, forms a parallelogram.

If Exeter Cathedral seems deficient in the grandeur of size, of height, and length which belongs to Westminster and Lincoln, Ely and Winchester, it may be attributed to the absence of a central tower; yet it has a certain quiet dignity referable to its sturdy Norman transeptal towers, the consistent use of flying buttresses, and the skilful manner in which the plan has been expanded eastwards. Then there is its superb array of windows, the variety of whose tracery must have taxed the ingenuity of their designers to the utmost, for, although each window corresponds with its neighbour on the opposite side of the church, the tracery of no two is alike, except the second and fourth in the nave clerestory. The earliest specimens are where the great work

of re-edification was commenced in the thirteenth century, viz., at the north and south ends of the procession path, where it may be styled transition between Early English and Decorated; but, except in the fifth and seventh windows of the nave clerestory—counting from the east on either side—and in the chapel of St Edmund at the north-west angle, where it is curvilinear, the whole of the tracery in Exeter Cathedral is formed of Geometrical patterns, as refined as they are varied. John Carter, in his work on the architecture and ornaments of the cathedral, prepared in 1797 for the Society of Antiquaries, gives an excellent illustration of this tracery in two sectional views by which it can be taken in at a glance.

The screen which projects from, and extends the whole width of, the lower part of the west front, was an afterthought, added in all probability during Brantyngham's episcopate, 1370-94, and thus forms a handsome specimen of the newly-evolved Perpendicular style. Some of the niched figures with which this western screen is almost completely covered, impersonate apostles and prophets, as well as English and Saxon kings, but, although a conjectural iconography was drawn up in the eighteenth century by a Mr Davey, with the assistance of John Carter, many of the effigies have long supplied antiquaries with subjects for disputation, and authorities continue to differ as to the personages represented. On the whole, this gallery of sculpture has borne the wear and tear of the elements, and of the various superstitions which have flourished in the West, wonderfully well. To

this day it is asserted that country people will occasionally chip off a piece of one of these statues, and pound the fragment, which they call a "Peter stone," into powder, in order to make of it a plaster for old sores! The wings, with their shallow arcading and sloping tops, appear to have been given to the upper half of the façade with the object of imparting additional breadth and majesty to it.

Two of the niches to the right of the central doorway are pierced by small lancet windows. These light a chapel formed within the thickness of the screen, and dedicated to St Radegund, in which a sepulchre was erected to Bishop Grandisson, but its splendour was destroyed by the visitors of Queen Elizabeth. Can that era produce such a prelate?

The north porch is somewhat mean, and, unlike those noble approaches to the south-western sister cathedrals of Salisbury and Wells, hardly prepares the mind for the solemn beauty and grandeur of the interior, which, owing to its floor being a few feet below the ground outside, is extraordinarily majestic at a *coup d'œil.*

But there is, even here, an apparent want of height, attributable, no doubt, to the unbroken stretch of roof. The real reason, however, would seem to be that the groins are of unexpected boldness, and the eye being unable to allow for their unusual size, an impression is produced that they are nearer than is really the case.

Be this as it may, the vault of Exeter Cathedral, as a typical specimen of that excellence to which English architects had arrived in this particular

feature at the beginning of the fourteenth century, fully lays claim to be styled "the high-water mark of English vaulting."

So regular is the interior of this, our great representative Complete Gothic church, that little scope is afforded for architectural description, but few are so truly pictorial, or present such a charming combination of natural and artificial colour, as is offered by the materials for the structure itself, and by that assemblage of objects which at first so trenches upon the attention, that it is some time before one is capable of turning to examine the actual details of the cathedral. The slatey-blue of the Purbeck marble pillars, the pale yellow of the richly moulded arches and vault, the silver pipes of the organ gleaming from its carved brown case, and the jewel-like tinctures which flash forth from the grisaille of the great east window closing the view, are the elements mainly conducive to rendering the interior of Exeter Cathedral "as charming as any in England."

Next to its windows, the glories of Exeter Cathedral are its pillars, whose compact diamond-wise arrangement of many shafts, so happily combining solidity with grace, was only arrived at by slow degrees. To trace the evolution of this pillar —which may not be inappropriately called "the Quivil" pillar — we must pass immediately into the retrochoir, which was the beginning of a series of works that transformed or replaced the Norman church by the one we now see. Here we find the germ of the column in those early thirteenth-century ones of Bishop Marshall supporting the arches in the

first bay of the Lady Chapel, and whose quatrefoiled plan is a step in advance, in point of lightness from the cylindrical Norman pillar. Next we have the pair of pillars at the north and south-east angles of the choir. Here the plan has become an octofoil, a slender shaft being introduced at each re-entering angle of the quatrefoil. The perfect diamond-shape, which makes its *début* in the single pillar carrying the two arches behind the reredos, is arrived at by introducing two more shafts in each face of the pillar, the cardinal shaft being greatly reduced in size, yet still sufficiently prominent. Thus, the earliest feat of Quivil in columnar work became the type for the whole church. The first time I saw the interior of Exeter Cathedral I could not account for the presence of two of these great clusters of sixteen shafts standing isolated at the junction of the nave with the transepts, until it dawned upon me that there was no central tower requiring the customary four great piers, against which a section of them would, in the ordinary course of things, be placed. When Sir Gilbert Scott entered upon the work of restoration in 1871, many of these Purbeck marble columns were found to be decayed a good deal outside, though the heart was good and sound. The decayed portions were all renewed, and an idea of how much labour and patience were involved in this is shown by the fact that over 100 tons of marble were so employed on ten pillars in the choir. Until the same period, the stonework of the interior of the greater part of the building had been covered by former generations with a coat of yellow wash, which vulgarised its effect. When it was removed it was

found that whilst all the groining ribs are of Beer stone, the surface of the vault was filled in with a variety of other Devonshire stone, much of it being of the red from Pocombe. All the stones employed here were small, so that the effect from below, although a sort of motley, is far from unpleasing.

During the gradual transformation of the Norman church into its present gracious form, the marvellous skill of an increasing civilisation found a way to retain those magnificent monuments of a ruder age — the grand old Norman towers — by burrowing under and piercing through them, so that they should minister to the wants and sympathies of a taste more refined and graceful. Their vaulting was carried out mainly in beautifully lined oak. This was always thought to have been stone, until the wash with which they had been so liberally coated was scraped off, when their true material, to the surprise of everybody, stood revealed.

The cathedral was consecrated by Grandisson 18th December 1320, when about half the nave had been completed in its present style, the remainder being left in its Norman state. This we know from a letter addressed by Grandisson to John XXII., the then reigning Pope, whose chaplain he had been, and in which he speaks of it as "fere ad medium constructa"—"finished to just about the middle."

Then once more the gigantic task was resumed: the Norman church entirely disappeared, and the building stood completed, much as we see it now, in 1350.

One very charming feature in this nave of Exeter, that rivets the attention of every visitor, is the "Minstrels' Gallery," but whose more correct nomen-

clature, according to one of our most accomplished archæologists, would be "the organ-loft for the services at the nave altar." However, I prefer to abide by the generally received explanation that it was provided, as at Wells and Winchester, for the accommodation of singers and instrumentalists for the reception of royal personages on their entrance into the church with musical honours. It has also been suggested that these galleries were used by the "Seven best Boys" who chanted the "Gloria, Laus et Honor" as the procession of Palm Sunday entered the cathedral. Indeed, three years after the completion of the nave, a fit occasion arose for its use, viz., in 1357, when, after the battle of Poitiers, Edward the Black Prince brought over as prisoners the French King John, his son, and sundry noblemen, who landed at Plymouth, and came thence to Exeter, where they were honourably received at the cathedral.

In the bay on the south side of the nave stands the font—a large marble cup, canopied, standing on a slender stem, and surrounded with heads of cherubs. It was used for the first time at the baptism of Princess Henrietta Anne, daughter of Charles I., who at this time (1643-44) was in pursuit of the parliamentary forces in Cornwall. On his return to Exeter he was lodged in Bedford House. The Queen likewise resorted thither for safety, and it was during her abode here that on 16th June 1644 the princess was born, and on 3rd July following, baptized in the cathedral by Dr Burnell, Chancellor and Canon Residentiary. Two hundred years later, under the "Gothic" mania,

this interesting specimen of seventeenth-century work was displaced in favour of an octagonal Late Decorated one, by the mistaken liberality of Archdeacon Bartholomew. The Renaissance font was then relegated to the little vaulted Early Norman chapel of the Holy Ghost near the Chapter-house; but the current of architectural taste having of late years turned in favour of the earlier Renaissance, it is pleasing to chronicle that this very charming font has been reinstated, and the modern Gothic one placed in St Edmund's Chapel.

A fine drawing of the nave by Nash, engraved by Malton, shows it as it appeared in 1804, with the enormously high pews put up during Bishop Lamplugh's episcopate (*temp.* Charles II.). There was also a pulpit, and opposite to it seats for the bishop and clergy, reminding one of the *banc d'œuvre* in a French church. Early morning and occasional services were held here until 1834, when these fittings, no doubt useful ones, were removed. In 1859 the nave was furnished for the special Sunday Evening Services, the first of which, following the example of those started earlier in St Paul's and Westminster Abbey, was held in May of that year. The present nave pulpit, one of Sir Gilbert Scott's happiest works of the kind, forms a memorial to Bishop Patteson of Melanesia, who met his death in 1871 on the Island of Nupaku in the South Pacific, twenty-two years after his ordination as deacon in this cathedral. It is of yellow magnesian limestone, and in the three principal compartments are groups representing the Martyrdom of St Alban; the Embarkation of St Boniface, a native of Crediton, for France; and the

carrying of the dead body of Bishop Patteson by the islanders to a canoe, wrapped in palms. Between the groups are statuettes of St Paul, St John Baptist, and St Stephen.

And now we stand in front of that unique choir screen whose fate trembled in the balance when the re-arrangement of the choir was under consideration thirty-three years ago. When Sir Gilbert Scott was appointed architect to the cathedral in 1871, immense opposition arose to what was proposed, on the ground that he retained this screen. The Architectural Society and two local architects were furious about it, but Scott, whose principle it was not to destroy an old high close screen nor to erect a new one, held hard and fast to it. However, by way of compromise, he so far yielded as to pierce the backs of the altar-recesses on either side the central doorway, which, without sacrificing any architectural feature, has in some degree opened out the choir to the nave.

While the work of restoration was going on in the choir, an interesting correspondence took place between Sir Gilbert Scott and Archdeacon Freeman —one of the greatest authorities on Exeter Cathedral and a most accomplished ecclesiologist — touching this screen. The Archdeacon was of opinion that it was an imitation work, while the architect contended that it must be the original work, either of Bishop Stapeldon in 1325, or of Grandisson, during the next forty years. As the restoration proceeded, it became known that the original screen must, at any rate, have been considerably disturbed, most probably at the time of the Protectorate, when the cathedral was occupied by two congregations of

schismatics, and divided into two portions by a brick wall erected on the site of the rood-loft and also extending across the entrances to the choir aisles.

In the Fabric Rolls of 1318-19 and subsequent years, there are various entries of columns, marble and iron, for "la pulpytte." There can be little doubt this was the present screen, which, with its three broad ogee arches projecting slightly into the crossing, bears so close a resemblance to those sumptuous jubés, once so frequent in France,[1] and of which many fine specimens still exist in Germany and the Low Countries, as to justify the belief of Archdeacon Freeman that it is "manifestly from first to last a French idea, newly imported from France, and carried out by French workmen." It was not, as is commonly supposed, a "rood screen" at all—*i.e.*, it did not carry the great crucifix with its attendant figures of St Mary and St John. These were placed on a separate beam, a bar of iron high above the screen, such as still exist in the great Lutheranised cathedral at Halberstadt, in Lower Saxony.[2] The rests for it, cut out of the first narrow

[1] Most of the French rood-lofts were destroyed, not by the Huguenots or the Revolutionists, but by the clergy themselves during the vitiated epoch of Louis XV.

[2] This is one of the finest Complete Gothic choir screens in Germany. Others of various dates are at Naumburg, Gelnhausen, Magdeburg, Meissen, Marburg, Oberwesel, and Wetzlar. It is generally styled *Der Lettner*, because from it the Gospel was read at High Mass; hence our word Lectern, or, as the early ecclesiologists loved to call it, Lettern. In several German screens the eagle for this purpose still remains. A peculiarity of the German choir screens is, that there are two doors of entrance, one on either side an altar facing the nave.

bay at the entrance to the choir on either side, presented themselves during the restoration of 1871-76. The screen itself was really an ambon, or high place, for singing the Epistle and Gospel from, also certain lections, letters of communion, pastorals of bishops, etc., and from it the episcopal benediction was pronounced. It was therefore for the bishop, at any rate, "la pulpytte," by which term it is always described in the Fabric Rolls. The vaulting under it is "voutura," not "voltura"; and when a carver is sent for from London to make some additional statues by desire of the Treasurer (who had perhaps quarrelled with the Frenchmen—certainly there is no record of his giving them anything *ex curialitate*) special mention is made of the fact as something extraordinary.

The side openings of the screen served as chapels, with altars dedicated respectively to St Mary and St Nicholas. Above is a row of ogee arcades filled with paintings of scriptural subjects, thought at one time to have been of value, but which have turned out to be quite the reverse. In a remarkable and characteristic drawing by John Coney, dated 1820, the screen is shown with a third storey, viz., a cresting of niches and pinnacles. It also appears in one of the engravings in Britton's "Exeter Cathedral," and appears to have been put up, just before the publication of that work, by Kendall, the architect to the Chapter, who was engaged in various other works of "embellishment" about the cathedral at the same time. It was not an improvement, and was removed at the restoration of 1871.

The screen still happily supports the organ, of

which the following description from Brice's Gazetteer, 1759, reminds one pleasantly of the "pair of organs" which are so frequently met with in old ecclesiastical chronicles. The writer, describing the choir and its adornments, observes:

"Opposite to this rare Altar-piece, in a Loft over the said entrance to the Choir, are fix'd two Organs (which, I am inform'd, is the only such Pair in *England*, tho' in Foreign Parts there may be a few the like) the sweet lesser one in the front, above which the larger one gracefully erects its gigantic Bulk, superbly high, as if conscious of its Dignity in being the Grandest Organ in the World, the boasted one of *Ulm* not itself excepted; for its largest Tubes are 15 inches in Diameter, while those of that of *Ulm* are 13 only. This great Organ was erected Anno 1665. The Pipes of both these our Pair of Organs harmoniously correspond, so that the Organist may play on each, by 2 adjoining Rows of Keys, at one and the same time, in consort, and thereby yield the melting Airs of softest Flutes, or the cheerfully rousing Peals of melodious Thunder."

John Loosemore, an Exeter man, was the original builder of this organ, being, with several others, among whom were Bernard and Gerard Schmidt, Renatus Harris, George Dallam, Thamar, Lancelot Pesse of Cambridge, Preston of York, and Hayward of Bath, busily employed in refurnishing our cathedrals and churches with the king of instruments upon the restoration of order after the excesses of the Civil War.

At Exeter the Puritans

"— brake downe the organs, and taking two or three

THE CHOIR LOOKING EAST

EXETER CATHEDRAL

hundred pipes with them, in a most scornefull contemptuous manner, went up and downe the streets piping with them; and meeting with some of the choristers of the church, whose surplices they had stolne before, and imployed them to base servile offices, scoffingly told them, 'Boyes we have spoyled your trade, you must goe and sing "hot pudding pyes."'" [1]

Loosemore died sixteen years after the completion of this, his masterpiece, and was buried in the cathedral, whose vaulted roof resounded for more than two centuries with the tones of that noble instrument which the Latin inscription placed upon his tomb hoped might be "a perpetual monument of his art and genius."

George III. greatly admired the organ at Exeter during his visit to the city in the summer of 1789, shortly after his recovery from his first attack of insanity.

Accompanied by Queen Charlotte and several members of his family, the king arrived at Exeter amid great rejoicings on the 13th of August. During their stay the royal party were the guests of the Dean, at whose residence

"after shewing themselves at the window to gratify

[1] From the "Mercurius Rusticus; the Country's Complaint recounting the Sade Events of this Unparalel'd Warr," 12mo, 1647. It was edited by Dr Bruno Ryves, an unflinching opponent of cant and hypocrisy. At the Restoration he was rewarded with the Deanery of Windsor.

The "Mercurius Rusticus" was originally published in numbers. In its collected form it went through several editions.

the eager curiosity of the populace, they partook of an elegant supper. The next morning, after the presentation of an address from the clergy of the diocese, the Royal Party proceeded to view the cathedral, where his Majesty was particularly struck with the magnificent painted window over the west door of the church. The organ was touched by Mr Jackson,[1] and the choir sang *Te Deum laudamus*, in a masterly manner."[2]

It appears that King George did not, as was expected, enter the cathedral in full procession by the great west door, but slipped in by a small private one communicating with the Deanery, to the no small mortification of the civic dignitaries and populace generally. This incident did not, we may be sure, escape the notice of that wicked wag, Thomas Wolcot, better known under his *nom de plume* of Peter Pindar, who thus alludes to it in his "Royal Visit to Exeter," one of those short satirical poems, which, abounding in wit and humour, and occasionally exhibiting proofs of a genius, might have placed him high among the national poets of his day, had not his mind been naturally gangrened.

[1] William Jackson, generally styled "Jackson of Exeter," to distinguish him from his later namesake, Jackson of Masham. He was organist of Exeter Cathedral from 1777 to 1803, was a man of varied accomplishments, and the composer of a *Te Deum* in F, which, notwithstanding the abuse that has been heaped upon it, contains some really excellent passages. Whether this was the *Te Deum* alluded to in the above account of the King's visit I am unable to discover.

[2] From the *Annual Register* and *Gentleman's Magazine*.

"Now droo a small back-doorwey stairs,
King George went voorth to zay his prayers,
A pure and goodly sign:
And then he took his spy glass out,
Star'd up and down, and all about,
And simm'd to zay, 'Tis vine.'"

In anticipation of the royal visit the cathedral had been touched and brushed up, and no doubt presented a very spick-and-span appearance. Evidently His Majesty thought so, for, as he wondered how the apples got into the famous dumplings, in the same manner did the simple-minded old monarch marvel at the extreme cleanliness of the church, and how ever they could get a mop long enough to reach to the roof. Our Gilray of versifiers thus continues:—

"Prayers over, now he spy'd the ruff,[1]
And looked it round and round enuff,
And zoon beginn'd to speak;
Zo said, 'Neat, neat—clean, very clean;
D'ye mop it, mop it, Measter Dean;
Mop, mop it, every week?'

'Sir,' said Dean Buller to 'on agen,
'Tis not by moppin keep'd zo clean,
What streek'th[2] your royal eye;
Vor, Zir, in all our Exter shops,
We never meet wey sich long mops;
Our mops dant reach zo high.'"

The stained glass in the west window which challenged the King's admiration, had been inserted about ten years before by Peckitt of York, who, with Giles (also of York), the Van Linges, the

[1] Roof. [2] Struck.

Prices, Pearson, Eginton of Birmingham, and Evans of Shrewsbury, did his best to keep the art alive from the latter part of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, when its true principles began to be revived by Hardman, Wailes, Willement, and others, under the influence and teaching of Pugin, Scott, Butterfield, and Street. Some of the colours in this west window of Exeter Cathedral were fine, and the attitudes of the figures dignified, and the heraldic work in the tracery excellent, but the work as a whole exhibited little or no study of the ancient examples. Much opposition was raised when, a few years ago, it was proposed to remove Peckitt's glass, but "the powers that be" were instant, and its place has been taken by a work of Burlisson and Grylls', completed in 1904, and representing canopied effigies of persons connected with the cathedral and See of Exeter. Much as we may regret the loss of Peckitt's glass on historical grounds, it must be confessed that it was quite unworthy of its setting, for the tracery of this window is among the most beautiful produced in the West of England during the fourteenth century.

To return, however, for a brief space, to the organ. In certain prints of the eighteenth century the towers of the instrument are represented as surmounted by crocketed spires. These, however, have been removed, together with two great groups of very large metal pipes which stood against the eastern piers of the crossing, and contained the bass octave of a double diapason. They were made entirely of tin and were surmounted by cornices of the same character as those which now adorn the towers of the central

case. Mr A. G. Hill, in his book on organs and organ-cases, informs us that these five pipes extended downwards as far as the 32-feet G or A, and were thus of an unusually large scale for an English organ of the seventeenth century. From the same authority we learn that the pipes of the choir organ front, together with some others in the main case, were beautifully decorated with patterns stamped out in the metal, like those in the old case at Tewkesbury. All these were either destroyed or melted up to make new pipes, the excuse pleaded being that they were eaten with age and otherwise worn.

From a musical point of view, Divine Service seems always to have been conducted with much grandeur here.

Prior to the Civil Wars, there was a choir numbering four priest-vicars, sixteen singing men, ten singing boys, and

"a delicate, rich, and lofty organ, which had more additions than any other, as fair pipes of an extraordinary length, and of the bigness of a man's thigh, which, with their viols and other sweet instruments, the tunable voices, and the rare organist, together made a melodious and heavenly harmony, able to ravish the hearer's ears."

Even at the end of the eighteenth century, when laxity in religious matters was prevalent, the service at Exeter was conducted in a stately manner. John Carter, in his sumptuous folio on the architecture and ornaments of the cathedral, prepared in 1797 for the Society of Antiquaries, speaks with warmth of the solemnity and splendour of the Divine Service, which is "attended to with a care equal to that

bestowed on the building, and does equal honour to the Dean and Chapter."

It was at Exeter, during the thirties of the last century, that Rev. W. E. Dickson, late Precentor of Ely Cathedral, first saw and heard singing men in surplices. Says Mr Dickson in his "Fifty Years of Church Music":

"It might be a curious and interesting subject of enquiry, and we might arrive at some unexpected results, if we could analyse the impression made by the full choral service of a cathedral upon young persons hearing it for the first time."

The old Scotch-woman's comment we all know: "Eh! 'twas bonny! but eh! 'tis an awfu' way o' spending t' Sawbbath!"

Precentor Dickson's youthful impressions of the church service were not pleasant ones.

"But here, at Exeter," he says, "all was singing! Each Amen, croaked at home by old Ralph Abdell, the clerk, was here a delight; the Versicles and Responses a feast of heavenly harmony; the Litany, sung by a Priest-Vicar and Lay Vicar in unison, answered by the sweet voices of the highly-trained chorus, an embodiment of all that was seraphic. My younger sister and I had not arrived at an age of reasoning on such subjects; but I have no doubt that at the close of that Exeter Sunday, a vague doubt whether we had been '*at church*' at all was present to our minds. At any rate, for the first time in our lives we had a Sunday of unmixed enjoyment."

Exeter was one of the several cathedral organist-ships held by one who, despite difficulties and discouragements, accomplished great things, and left

a mark not easily blotted out nor widely understood —Samuel Sebastian Wesley. It was while organist of Hereford Cathedral—*i.e.*, from 1832 to 1835—that he wrote the "Wilderness,"[1] whose rich and wonderful modulations, deeply religious fervour, difficulties and grand effects, made so great an impression upon the Vicars Choral at its first rehearsal. One who was at that time a choir boy at Exeter, recalls how, "as one of those taking part in the lovely quartette at the end, 'And sorrow and sighing shall flee away,' he was intensely interested and deeply moved by this truly inspired piece of writing." Although Wesley's fame will chiefly rest upon his compositions for the Church — notably his service in E, and his anthems, "Ascribe unto the Lord," "Blessed be the God and Father," and that above alluded to—he had few equals as a performer on the organ. In his extempore playing he was especially great, uniting fertility of invention with scientific combination in a way in which few could approach him. Most widely known to church-going folk is the broad, majestic and melodious tune, "Aurelia," originally composed in 1864 for "Jerusalem the Golden," but now generally associated with those stanzas from Rev. S. J. Stone's "Knight of Intercession" — "The Church's one Foundation." Dr Wesley lies in the old cemetery at Exeter, and there is a memorial tablet to him in the north aisle of the nave of the cathedral.

[1] Originally written as a competition anthem for the Gresham Prize in 1832, it was condemned by the adjudicator Dr Crotch! Posterity has reversed the old Doctor's verdict, for "The Wilderness" has been winging its way up ever since!

Among the musical worthies of Exeter, Rev. George Maximilian Slatter, priest-vicar from 1817 to 1868, deserves mention. He composed and published some excellent services and anthems, and was especially kind in helping on young and struggling musicians.

Even in the worst days of Georgian irreverence, coldness, and apathy, a full choral celebration of the Holy Communion was the use at Exeter, as evidenced some years ago in the now historic trial of the saintly Bishop of Lincoln, at least once a month and on all great festivals. In connection with it there was a very curious custom only discontinued within comparatively late years. As may be seen by reference to old drawings of the choir, there were two altar rails at Exeter—one near the Holy Table, the other at some distance. Within these rails the communicants were assembled, and the Sacred Elements administered to each by the officiating priests going round to them. At the *Gloria in Excelsis* the ten chorister boys, who alone appear to have remained, were arranged outside the outermost of these rails.

Two musical settings for treble vocal part and organ accompaniment, evidently composed for this service, are in existence; one in B minor by Rev. Tobias Langdon, sub-chanter of the cathedral (d. 1712), and another by William Jackson, the organist. The latter, in F, was published posthumously with the first edition of his complete Service in F, by his pupil and successor, James Paddon, but in Novello's 8vo, and other later cheap editions, the *Gloria* is not given.

After the service the boys closed the procession

of clergy, each party filing off to their respective vestries. But, when the Bishop was present, the boys preceded, and arranged themselves in a line on their knees in the south aisle, to receive the Bishop's blessing as he passed on his way out of the cathedral to the palace.

One who did good work for the church in his generation, and defended church doctrine when it was unpopular to do so, describes this interesting and touching ceremony as he witnessed it performed in 1863, by Bishop Phillpotts—"Henry of Exeter"—at that time very old and feeble. The occasion was that of an ordination, and, at the conclusion of the office, the Bishop walked down the choir leaning on his stick, the choir children in their surplices going two and two before him as far as the door which led from the cathedral to the palace. On arriving at this door the boys knelt down in a row, and the Bishop, giving his stick to his servant, put his two hands on the head of each boy in succession, saying to each as he did so, "God bless you, my child!"

The narrator was a comparatively young man at the time, and had followed the little procession, and so knelt down beside the last boy. The Bishop stopped for a moment when he came to the last boy, and looked at the stranger kneeling down, and then put his hands on his head and gave him his blessing. Although not of such frequent occurrence this beautiful and pious custom is still observed in Exeter Cathedral on Christmas Day, Easter Day, and Whitsunday.

Loosemore's organ underwent alteration and addition at different times during the two centuries

after its erection, but fourteen years ago it was entirely rebuilt by Willis. It was one of the last works of that Father Schmidt of modern organ-builders, who died 11th February 1901, and it was considered by the late Sir John Stainer one of the most beautifully voiced instruments he had ever heard. The extra space required after enlargement was obtained by raising the main case 3 feet, to the great improvement of the whole, by advancing the eastern front up to the choir organ and adding a duplicate of the choir organ-case on the west front in which the solo organ is placed. The bellows were removed from the north side of the screen, thereby making room for a portion of the pedal organ, and the lowest sixteen pipes of the 32-feet stop are placed in the south transept. The organ is blown by gas engines, which, with the bellows and Willis' patent blowing apparatus, is placed in the crypt under St James' chapel. The whole of the action is tubular pneumatic, and both as regards tone and mechanism, the instrument is now undoubtedly one of the finest cathedral organs in the country, while its position on the choir screen enables it to be heard to the greatest possible advantage.

The choir, re-opened after its restoration and partial refitting under Sir Gilbert Scott on St Peter's Day, 1876, is very beautiful. Previously, the building had been in the care of Mr Cornish of Exeter, by whom Scott was occasionally consulted, and to whom he alludes in his "Recollections" as "a very kindly and excellent old gentleman, and thoroughly practical man."

Of the old furniture in the choir all that remained were the bishop's throne, the sedilia, the side screens

to the presbytery, and the *misereres* of the stalls, which were, of course, returned on either side the entrance of the then solid screen.

When Scott came to work upon this part of the church in 1871, the screen was surmounted by Loosemore's splendid early post-Restoration organ-case, and the stalls by backs slightly arched at the top, so as to form a continuous canopy, but carried out in that dry, formal style which distinguished the quasi-Gothic carpentry of the eighteenth century. Above this woodwork appeared a beautiful double embattled canopy and frieze of the fourteenth century, reminiscent of D'Estria's screens in Canterbury Cathedral. This belonged, in all probability, to stone screens used for the backs of the *misereres* in lieu of woodwork, but which, owing perhaps to some sculpture which they contained, were taken down at the Reformation and rebuilt in plastered brick.

In front of the *misereres* was heavy pewing of the latter part of the seventeenth century, to which period the sounding-board of the pulpit, ascribed to Gibbons, also belonged. A row of open benches was arranged up the middle of the choir, and in the presbytery were more benches, placed, with little regard for propriety, with their backs to the altar. Almost entirely across the lower part of the east end stretched a heavy stone altar screen consisting of seven canopied but empty niches, the centre one, however, displaying the Commandments highly emblazoned, with the initial letter of each sentence gorgeously rubricated.

This piece of work, put up in 1819, was due to

the Chapter architect, Mr J. H. Kendall. For its date, it was by no means contemptible, John Britton, remarking upon it in his monograph on Exeter, that, "though presenting some anomalies in design, and incongruities of ornament, it is one of the best examples of our ancient Pointed architecture that has yet been executed."

The predecessor of this altar-piece was one mentioned by John Carter in his work on the cathedral as "painted with the design of the inside of an ancient building, with Moses and Aaron in the arches." It appears in an aquatint drawing of the choir made in 1801 by Pierce, which, together with an etching by Coney in Sir Henry Ellis' edition of the "Monasticon Anglicanum a large" lithograph by Dolby from a drawing by Owen H. Carter, published in 1853; and a steel engraving by Challis, from the skilful pencil of Thomas Allom (1831); gives us a very correct representation of the choir of Exeter Cathedral as it appeared prior to 1871, when Sir Gilbert Scott was commissioned by the Dean and Chapter to prepare designs for an amelioration of its arrangements.

To the lasting credit of those concerned, the grand Renaissance organ-case was preserved intact, with the exception just now alluded to. *Esto in perpetua!* But the feeble late Georgian woodwork behind the stalls, the altar-piece, and the cumbrous pews were, and rightly, sacrificed without compunction.

The back of the screen on either side the entrance was pierced to allow those seated in the nave to participate in the choir offices, and an entirely new and very graceful set of backs and canopies

was erected over the forty-eight *misereres*. With the exception of one, these belong to the time of Bishop Bruere (1224-44), and, when first erected, stood, as in all Norman churches, where the eastern limb was short, in the crossing. When the present choir was ready for their reception early in the fourteenth century, they were moved into it. This series of thirteenth-century oak carvings, as remarkable as they are valuable, and far from being subjects of the quaint character generally met with, are most unusual. Prior to his elevation to the throne of Exeter, Bishop Bruere was in the East, which will account for the Oriental cast of so many of the subjects carved under his superintendence. The elephant with the distorted hocks, which occurs on the Decani side, is the earliest known representation of that animal in Great Britain, while on the Cantoris side there occurs, among many other spirited carvings, one of the Silver Swan drawn in his boat by a white swan, illustrative of the well-known Bohemian tradition of Lohengrin, and mutely telling the story of the opera.

The size of these old misericords was regrettably overlooked on the re-arrangement of the choir in 1871, and the only way to surmount this oversight on the part of the clerk of the works was to cut off the projecting dowels (which were part and parcel of the ancient misericords upon which the seats had worked up and down for fully six hundred and thirty years) and to substitute iron hinges. Another unfortunate matter was, that when the new arrangements gave one seat less than heretofore, a fifteenth-century *miserere* found a place on the Cantoris side

at the expense of one of the thirteenth-century series, which, after divers adventures, may now be seen on a shelf in the Chapter-house.[1]

The interpolated fifteenth-century seat represents a man, crowned, armed with a dagger, and squatting beneath a bracket, while the discarded one has a graceful piece of foliage and two birds under its bracket.

The episcopal throne, one of the glories of the cathedral, rises in airy state to the height of 57 feet (nearly to the vault) at the east end of the southern series of stalls. It belongs to Bishop Stapledon's time (1308-26), the oak used in its construction having been cut down at Newton and Chudleigh, at a cost of £6, 12s. 8½d. Four years later, Robert de Galmeston, an Exeter man, was paid £4 for making this throne, exclusive of the painted decoration and statuary, now all but completely lost.

During the Commonwealth it was taken down and concealed, but replaced at the Restoration, when Bishop Seth Ward, like Cosin at Durham, and Hacket at Lichfield, was most assiduous in his endeavours to bring back the cathedral to as much of its former splendour as his day permitted. In 1871 the reparation of the throne was carried out with the utmost care and study of the evidences. Notice should be taken of how carefully the new enclosure to the throne, which is fitted to accommodate two chaplains as well as the bishop, has been made to harmonise with the old work, and of the manner

[1] I am indebted to Mr Harry Hems, the widely known sculptor of Exeter, for much information on the woodwork and other matters in connection with the cathedral.

in which the portraits have been revived of Bishops Warelwast, Quivil, Stapeldon, and Grandisson, of which traces were discovered at the four corners.

For the brick wall which had been run up behind the stalls an open screen was substituted, to permit of the use of the choir aisles for congregational purposes, the beautiful coping already alluded to being reset.

Rich pavements of varied marbles were laid down, a new pulpit of unobtrusive design was put up, and that reredos erected whose sculptured groups of the Transfiguration, the Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit gave rise to a deplorable litigation,[1] which, while leading to the temporary suspension of the works, thereby delaying the re-opening of the choir, settled the fact, once and for all, that sculptured and pictorial art in our churches shall be no longer restrained within any other limits than those which apply to the setting up of images that are to be "adored." So long as we do not worship them, but are content to admire them, we may enjoy the intellectual and even the sentimental luxury of using "graven images" to any extent we can afford. Though how it should have required such a vast amount of technical disquisition for the attainment of so simple an act of common-sense passes all comprehension.

[1] It will be remembered that Archdeacon Phillpotts prosecuted his brethren of the Chapter for the design of the reredos which they had set up by the munificence of Dr Blackall and Chancellor Harrington. Mr Justice Keating, as the Bishop's assessor, heard the case, and decided that its sculpture was illegal. The Privy Council, however, in appeal, reversed the finding, which, had it been maintained, would have seriously checked the revival of religious art in England.

As a reredos, this of Exeter is by no means remarkable; indeed, it is difficult to conceive why Sir Gilbert Scott, instead of striking out something fresh and original, should at the time it was designed have been dealing in that *crambe repetita* of ornament by which, at a glance, any work of his of this kind can be identified with little fear of a mistake.

The sedilia, on the south side of the sanctuary, are most graceful works of Bishop Stapledon's time, and much care was expended on their restoration thirty years ago.

The stained glass in the great east window is wonderfully perfect. It belongs to the fourteenth century, but was removed from the earlier window, which was in all probability of Geometrical Decorated character, and re-arranged in the present fine example of Early Perpendicular work.

Although but scanty fragments now remain, the aisle and clerestory windows of Exeter Cathedral were once rich in mediæval stained glass. The Fabric Rolls testify to the persistency of Bishop Stapledon in carrying out this work between 1308 and 1319, so that we are able to verify almost every window, what it cost, and the proportion of pattern to figured glass; generally one-fourth. The nave was glazed early in the fifteenth century. Here the general tint was golden, while that in the choir was silvery, a variation which must have produced a charming effect. The work would appear to have been accomplished in Bishop Lacey's day (1420-55).

When John Carter wrote his descriptions to the drawings of the cathedral made by him for the Society of Antiquaries there was doubtless a good

deal of the old stained glass remaining in different parts of the building. This, it appears, had been removed at different times from the Chapter-house, but with other small fragments from other windows has since been collected together and placed for preservation in the new east window of that fine oblong apartment. A considerable quantity of glass in the choir aisles, especially in the tracery of the windows, remains as it was in Carter's days. It is principally grisaille or quarry work. The five-light eastern windows of St Gabriel's and St Mary Magdalene's Chapels—*i.e.*, those on either side the Lady Chapel — were for years equipped with the stained glass originally in the six-light windows at their sides. To fit this glass to the smaller windows, half the width of the border on either side of the lights was cut off. In the case of St Gabriel's Chapel this was rectified by Mr Frederick Drake, the well-known stained glass artist of Exeter, to whose courtesy I am indebted for much information respecting the vitreous decoration of the cathedral, who restored this glass and replaced it in its original position in 1877. Unfortunately, the corresponding window in St Mary Magdalene's Chapel has been filled with modern stained glass, so that the restoration of the ancient work to its proper place in this chapel has been rendered impossible.

The windows of the nave clerestory, whose golden tint I have already alluded to, was in a bold pattern of floral grisaille. It was fixed just after the discovery of the stain, and the painters in their delight at using a new material were rather prone to excess in its application. Vestiges of this glass are still *in situ*

on the south side. In the clerestory of the choir one window only remains on the north side. It has figures and canopies placed upon a background of grisaille, and is a good example of early fourteenth-century work. A fellow window to it, originally belonging to the north side of the choir and differing from the other in having smear instead of stippled shading, was discovered at the time of the restoration of the cathedral packed away in a muniment chamber, and has since been ruthlessly destroyed to *patch other windows with!*

There is some excellent modern glass by Mr Drake in the cathedral; among which may be mentioned that in the tracery of the great north transept window; the third in the south aisle of the nave, and a very charming three-light window over the south-west door representing Bishop Grandisson in full pontificals, with, on either hand, a kneeling figure, one holding a model of the cathedral, the other one of the collegiate church of Ottery St Mary, which in its present form is generally ascribed to that prelate.

The bulk of the glass at Exeter is Clayton and Bell's work, but examples of it—mostly good—are too numerous to particularise.

It would be unpardonable to close this chapter on Exeter Cathedral without some allusion to that series of episcopal monuments in which it is so rich.

Not only are they valuable as works of art, but as providing the student of mediæval vestments with a perfect sequence of subjects, beginning in Purbeck marble with the rude effigy of Bishop Bartholomew (1184), in which the hardness of the material appears

to have almost baffled the artist. Then comes the far more advanced and really excellent portrait of Simon of Apulia (1223), and lastly, as a culminating point as a work of art, we have the charming monument of Bishop Marshall (1206), than which few finer specimens of early thirteenth-century sculpture exist in England. There is also a magnificent late specimen of alabaster sculpture, that of Bishop Stafford (d. 1419) on the north side of the Lady Chapel, and an equally beautiful example, the tomb of Bishop Bronescombe, in a corresponding position on the south side. This is especially valuable for its polychromatic decoration, which is of a far higher order than we generally see, and is in excellent condition. Bishop Oldham's tomb in his chantry on the south side of the procession path was, until about forty years ago, in extraordinarily good condition, if we except trifling damage purposely inflicted either at the Reformation or by the Puritans. There were marks of colour throughout, so that the whole was really a valuable precedent.

About forty years ago this tomb was dutifully and munificently restored, possibly also with some expectation of reflecting honour and glory upon the restorers themselves, by the authorities of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, because Bishop Oldham was associated with Bishop Fox in the foundation of that college. Unfortunately the work, entrusted to local provincial tradesmen, was carried out with more zeal than discretion, for not only was the poor bishop coloured until he looked like a very smart Guy Fawkes, not excepting his mask, but the whole chantry was gauded up in the crudest of all positive

colours, put on as any mere novice might do—a terrible beacon of warning to all would-be restorers of mediæval polychromy.

If ancient colour is to be restored or repaired, it should be in the same way that we restore ancient paintings: the colours should be exactly matched, none of the old be covered over, and only the defective parts filled in, the same vehicle being used as was done for the original work. But in the case of sculpture and tombs even this had far better be omitted—to leave them alone is the wisest plan.

FROM THE SOUTH EAST

WELLS CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER VIII

WELLS

"If you want to be delighted, if you want to be astonished, if you want to be half mad, as I at present am, for God's sake come over to Wells." So exclaimed Pugin, seventy-two years ago, in one of those enthusiastic letters to his friend, Osmond of Salisbury, quoted by Mr Benjamin Ferrey in his "Recollections" of his old friend and fellow-pupil. It is easy to understand, and to thoroughly sympathise with, the enthusiasm of that earliest, ablest, and most zealous pioneer of the Gothic Movement about Wells.

We may not have anything in England comparable in point of magnitude with those great cliffs of grey stone, the Titanic cathedrals of Amiens, Chartres, Le Mans, and Rheims; yet we may search France from end to end, and from side to side, and not meet with a specimen of architectural grouping so satisfying and so altogether lovely as is presented by the cathedral whose name heads this chapter.

Small in dimensions when compared with other English diocesan churches, few possess so complete a ground plan, or have so perfectly retained those dependencies, those points of comparison, whose inferior proportions make the central monument tell to greater advantage, as Wells. Then the situation of this Somersetshire cathedral! Nothing could be more beautiful. Among the most delightful of my reminiscences connected with ecclesiology and the charm of English landscape are those resulting from visits to Wells and its truly romantic neighbourhood. Almost all our cathedrals are environed by spots of green, alleys of tall trees, grave prebendal houses, and, in some instances, by a piece of water, all of which grouping so pleasingly with the towers and spires give such value and beauty to them, whether occupying the exalted situations of Durham and Lincoln, or the lowly ones of Lichfield, Salisbury, and the cathedral forming the subject of our sketch. Lying as it does amid the Mendip Hills engirdling its peaceful little city, it suggests a pearl in the bowl of a goblet.

Wells is one of three cathedrals—the other two are York and Lichfield—which, although standing on the site of Norman buildings and enshrining relics of the original structures, either beneath the pavements or within the walls of the later erection, exhibit no trace of the earlier structure. The insignificance of the position of Wells may account for the fact that it was one of the latest of our cathedrals to profit by the Norman zeal for building.

The removal of the See to Bath by Bishop John de Villula in 1088 fully accounts for this. The Saxon

church of Edward the Elder probably remained untouched till the episcopate of Bishop Robert (1131-66), when it was rebuilt according to the taste of the day, and the bishop's stool again set up in it. Robert's church, however, has been swept away more completely than almost any other of its age. The font, one small bit of masonry, and a single stone with Norman mouldings built up into an adjoining house, comprise all that Mr Freeman was able to discover. "Whatever was built in the days of Robert has utterly vanished." It is an almost unparalleled fact in the history of our cathedrals that, in the words of the same distinguished archæologist, "a church, most likely, of the tenth century remained at least to the middle of the twelfth, and that large portions of it were not improbably standing even in the thirteenth."

Bishop Reginald de Bohun, who presided over the See of Wells from 1174 to 1191, began the existing cathedral with the first three bays of the choir, the transepts, the four easternmost bays of the nave, and a tower sufficiently high to receive the gabled roofs of these four limbs. The exquisitely beautiful north porch is likewise assigned to this prelate.

Commenced as it was at the close of the twelfth century, when English architects were beginning to revel in the luxury of the newly-developed Pointed style, we must regard these portions of Wells Cathedral with the deepest interest as presenting one of the earliest specimens of Gothic, quite emancipated from the Romanesque, extant in the South of England. But it is Early English of a

totally different type from that which was being employed contemporaneously by Geoffrey de Noyers under St Hugh at Lincoln, or from that which we see in the south at Salisbury, in the east at Ely, and in the north at York, Beverley, and Rievaulx. In fact it is a type of Early English which seems to have been excogitated in the mystic "Isle of Avalon," whence it passed over to South Wales and into Gloucestershire, as evidenced by the cathedral of Llandaff and the church of Cheriton in the Gower district of the former, and by the churches of Slymbridge and Berkeley in the latter. We see it, too, in St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals, Dublin, for Strongbow's invasion was a South Wales invasion, and everywhere within the Irish pale we see the architecture evidently changed from the old Irish style to one which has the most unmistakable evidence of its Somersetshire origin. Early English work is not very frequently met with in the churches with which this county is so liberally endowed, but when it does occur, it is generally of the same character as that in the mother church.

Savaric, the successor of Reginald in the See of Wells, does not appear to have done much to further the extension of the cathedral, being too much taken up in squabbling with the monks of Glastonbury; but the work was steadily pursued under Joceline (brother of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, and, before that, Archdeacon of Wells), who preserved the main characteristics of Reginald's work in the remaining six bays of the nave, though introducing certain changes which only reveal themselves on a close inspection. Joceline held the See from 1206 till

his death in 1242.[1] Three years before, he had witnessed the completion of the exquisitely beautiful western façade, which, like that of Salisbury, would appear to have been intended for a gallery of sculpture. Joceline also commenced the contiguous episcopal palace which was added to at different times by successive prelates.

The "chorus" of this, as yet, untouched Early English cathedral was under the tower, what is now the choir then forming the presbytery. In all likelihood this choir of Reginald de Bohun had a square east end, beyond which the aisles were prolonged sufficiently to admit of a procession path between it and the Lady Chapel.

The treasury, now the crypt of the Chapter-house, was in progress during Bishop Burnell's episcopate (1275-92), and to that of Bishop William de Marchia (1293-1302) must be assigned the Chapter-house itself.

The fourteenth century was a period of great architectural activity at Wells. The earlier part of it witnessed the rearing of the great central

[1] The remains of Bishop Joceline were, according to trustworthy records, interred *in medio chori* under a marble tomb inlaid with his figure in brass, which in the sixteenth century was "shamefully defaced." Nothing is now known of the brass, nor at what date it was removed. About 1874 some improved means of lighting were introduced into the choir, and, while laying the necessary pipes, it was, of course, requisite to take up portions of the paving. In the centre of the choir a very ancient coffin was found, cut from a solid block of freestone, which unquestionably had enclosed the body of Joceline, the spot of the discovery answering to the old record. The coffin had been formerly opened (when, it is not known), and there were a few bones towards the upper part or head of it.

tower upon the low Early English one, and before the century had passed into its seventh decade, the eastern limb of Reginald's church had been extended to its present length, and equipped with its two low eastern transepts, procession path, and Lady Chapel, thus following up that system of prolongation which was being, or had been carried out, in one great church after another, all over England.

By the time this work had reached completion, the Decorated style having passed through its geometrical and curvilinear phases, had gradually melted into the Perpendicular. This appears in its transitional stage in the east window of the choir, but it had fully established itself when Bishop Harewell gave the south-western tower, which hitherto had not risen beyond the line of the façade, its upper stage. We owe the completion of the opposite tower and the eastern walk of the cloister, with the library over it, to Bishop Bubwith. The west cloister walk, part of the southern one, and the tracery which fills the nave and transept windows belongs to the time of Bishop Beckington (1443-64), who emulated William of Wykeham in his love of building and his architectural skill, his handiwork meeting us at every turn in Wells. The Chain Gate connecting the north transept of the cathedral with the Vicar's Close is Beckington's work, and completes a group of buildings unique in their beauty and arrangement, valuable from their well-ascertained dates, and forming an unbroken series of examples of English architecture, each the best of its age, from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the fifteenth century.

"In the troubles of the seventeenth century," says Canon Church in a little sketch of the cathedral, "Wells was brought under the harrows of Puritan tyranny. The choir was closed, the Chapter-house was put up for sale at the price of £160; all services were forbidden except the preaching of Cornelius Burgess, who occupied the Dean's house, and called himself 'minister of the late cathedral.'"

But worse was to come, for during that rebellion of July 1685 which terminated so disastrously at Sedgemoor, in the horrible scaffold scene on Tower Hill, and in the "Bloody Assize" of Jeffreys, Wells was occupied by the raw peasantry and miners of the west country, who had joined the standard of Monmouth. Misguided and ignorant zealots, they were led on by extreme sectarians, whose religion ran perilously near madness, to invade and desecrate the cathedral, to shiver its stained windows, and to break down the carved work with axes and hammers.

Canon Church tells us that:

"In the Chapter Acts of 1st July 1685 a record is preserved of what was happening while this storm was sweeping over the cathedral and city. Chancellor Holt held the quarterly Chapter meeting alone with the notary in the Chapter-house on that morning. He sorrowfully protested against the desecration of the church by 'the rebellious fanatics, who that very morning were in the act of destroying the furniture, breaking up the organ, and had made the House of God the stabling for their horses.' Then he adjourned the Chapter and all affairs until that day four weeks, between the hours of 9 and 12 A.M., hoping that within that time 'this tyranny will be overpast.'"

Nor was that hope disappointed. The next words in the book of Chapter Acts record that within six days the rout at Weston Zoyland, in Sedgemoor, had put an end to the rebellion, and the Minutes of Proceedings close with an outburst of thankfulness:

"Deus, Deus nobis hæc otia fecit."

A vivid picture of the atrocities committed by Monmouth's soldiery in Wells Cathedral on that July day of 1685 is drawn by Mr Conan Doyle, in the twenty-eighth chapter of his "Micah Clarke."

The design of the chief glory of Wells Cathedral, its west front, is due to Bishop Joceline, who, after being tied and bound by adherence to the work already begun by Reginald de Bohun in the nave, felt that he could give free rein to his fancy when he came to design its façade, for it is far less local in its pure and beautiful Early English style.

The excessive grace of this west front is as a whole indescribable, exhibiting genius of the very highest order, and for its purpose of presenting to the religious spectator in a single façade the portraits of triumphant monarchs, saints, and prelates in one great assembly, crowned by the Saviour in Majesty, the design is unequalled. The deviation from true principles which has been indulged in for this great display is but small, for it is one of those works of originality of thought that cannot be controlled by every-day rule. This is a point in which one feels bound to demur to Freeman's doctrine, who charges the front with dishonesty because the towers are outside the line of the aisles, as at Rouen. But there is no fraud upon

the eye, because, amongst other things, the side doors plainly indicate the nature of the design; and after all there is no reason why the Wells plan should not be as "natural" as the York, save that, as a matter of fact, it is not so usual. Another charge so often brought against this great gallery of early Christian art is that the doors are too small; but there may have been a symbolical reason for that. Why should not the portals of a great church suggest that "strait gate" which leads to life eternal? At Amiens the portals are everything, so that we can recollect nothing else; at Wells they are nothing, and we can scarcely remember their existence, yet in the façade above, the English example is the richer of the two, and the illustrative sculpture which in the French Church is confined to the portals, is, in the English one, diffused over the entire front.

A most important part is played in the design of this western façade at Wells by the eight boldly projecting buttresses, which by their high relief produce a most striking effect of light and shade, and, when reddened by the setting sun of a summer evening, the word "wonderful" can be applied in strict propriety to the praise of this venerable work. Indeed, these buttresses are the grand secret of the astonishing and beautiful effect produced; for, although themselves completely loaded with niched figures, and abounding in the most luxuriant and minute architectural foliage and deeply cut mouldings, they, by their great projection, so separate the extraordinary mass of workmanship, as to relieve the eye and give the required breadth to

the work that would otherwise appear frittered and confused.

The absence of this feature would be robbing the front of its very soul, and, instead of the eye resting with enraptured admiration for hours upon its beauties, it would become wearied with the multiplicity of detail and the spotty effect of the shadows.

With respect to the identification of the personages represented on the west front of Wells Cathedral, difference of opinion must always exist. Professor Cockerell, in a work of learning and research, "The Iconography of the West Front of Wells Cathedral," published in 1851, assigns a name to every statue, but his conclusions were controverted by Mr Planché in a very able paper read before the British Archæological Association some years later, in which he applied the test of *costume* with fatal effect; and indeed expressed an opinion that, "amongst all the statues on the historical tier, not one could be now identified, and but one (St Edwrad the Martyr) with any probability be guessed at."

Still, Professor Cockerell deserves all praise as the pioneer in unravelling this great mystery, for, without committing oneself to the acceptance of his interpretation, ingenious though it be, it is impossible to entirely overlook the erudite and patient research with which he developed this great sculptural epic, this illustrious sermon in living stones, even after all the fresh light which present-day archæologists have thrown upon it.[1]

[1] *Vide*, the iconographical scheme given by Rev. Percy Dearmer in his admirable Handbook to the Cathedral in Messrs Bell's series.

Educated as Professor Cockerell was, in the purest Grecian school, and, in an earlier period of the ecclesiological movement, involved in something of an opposition to it, he had the ability and the candour to be converted to the merits of the Middle Ages, and he proved this conversion in the most convincing and practical manner, by devoting his taste and talent to the investigation and illustration of mediæval religious art, in a feeling of deep and general sympathy; the more valuable, because it was the sympathy of reason and reflection—that of a man who, having not merely cultivated, but matured an exquisite feeling for proportion among the monuments of a far different art, now finds that feeling gratified by the monuments of the Middle Ages, and therefore unhesitatingly accepts them.

Between 1869 and 1874 this gallery of early Christian art was subjected to a careful reparation under Mr Benjamin Ferrey.[1] The original material employed for the numerous shafts was a delicate grey-blue lias, which on being found decayed had, at different times, been replaced by others of stone from the St Andrew's quarries at Doulting, near Shepton Mallet, whence came the material for the building itself.

Unfortunately, Mr Ferrey, in replacing these shafts, did not revert to the original Somersetshire material, but equipped the whole façade with others of Kil-

[1] Upon a close inspection, it became evident that the countenances of many of the figures had been formerly painted; also the drapery, and in the representation of the heavenly hierarchy, traces of gilding and emblazoning were discovered.

kenny marble which more than thirty years of sunshine and storm have not succeeded in toning down.[1]

What the original intention of Bishop Joceline's architect was with regard to his towers it is impossible to realise, but although a century and a half has to be bridged over between the façade and the towers we now see, the junction of the two epochs of work does not appear in the slightest degree incongruous or abrupt, and, whether complete or not, it would give no pleasure to real lovers of Wells Cathedral to see them otherwise than they are; for, as I remarked in another chapter of this book, old associations count for much in judging an English church, and this pride of Somersetshire, with its severe square-topped western towers which group so pleasingly with the enriched pinnacled one at the junction of the four arms, is accepted by numbers as approaching the ideal of its class.

As it stood completed in 1242, the general aspect of Wells Cathedral externally must have been most graceful, if not somewhat stern, but by the lace-like parapet which the Decorated architect has carried entirely round the Early English portions, and by the tracery which he of the Perpendicular age has endowed all the once simple lancet windows, this severity has been so greatly mitigated, that at a first sight, Wells would hardly be taken for an Early English building.

Passing through the noble north porch into the nave we stand so tranfixed with astonishment at the gracefulness of the *ensemble*, that it is some time

[1] I believe these shafts are locally known as "the slate pencils."

before we are capable of turning to examine it in detail. In every direction the eye is caught by piers of the most exquisite mould formed of triple shafts, clustering like stems in cornsheaves against the faces, and in the internal angles of a cross-formed nucleus, with alternately square and octagonal *abaci* to their delicately, yet vigorously, foliaged capitals. Of equal grace and richness are the arches; indeed, it is not too much to say that Early Pointed art has produced nothing more truly elegant or so thoroughly satisfying as the arcades separating the nave, transepts, and choir from the aisles at Wells.

The prevailing regularity of the Early English work is, however, agreeably diversified by the Perpendicular chantries of Bishop Bubwith and Treasurer Sugar; by the almost Renaissance mid-sixteenth-century pulpit of Bishop Knight, with its inscription from the second chapter of St Paul's Epistle to Timothy;[1] and by the screens which shut off the aisles, so as to form a series of chapels, from the transepts.

It has been observed, and with truth, that there is no nave in England in which the eye is so irresistibly carried eastward as in that of Wells Cathedral. This must be attributed chiefly to the architect's treatment of his triforium. Instead of the arcades being gathered up into pairs by the vaulting shafts, they are carried on in an apparently unbroken series of simple lancet openings from end to end, though in reality they are collected into triplets by the small shafts which, corbelled off just below the string-course separating the triforium from the

[1] "Preache thov the worde; be fervent in season and ovt of season, reprove, rebvke, exhort, in all longsoffryng & doctrine."

clerestory, support the main ribs of the simply groined roof. The interlacing pattern in red, traced in the cells, was reproduced from the remains of some discovered on the removal of the whitewash from the pillars, walls, and roof by Mr Ferrey in 1842. In front of the clerestory window in the sixth bay is one of the earliest specimens of those stone galleries that were erected as a station for the singers and minstrels to perform in on extraordinary occasions as when some distinguished personage was received at the great western door.[1]

Inside, there being no rival to distract attention from its positive proportions, the elevation of the central part of the west end pleases by its dignity and repose. That portion of the front which is commensurate with the triforium and clerestory is occupied by three very tall lancet windows, of which the central one rises considerably beyond the other two, seen through trefoil-headed arches springing from shafts clustered and banded. The jambs of these shafts are pierced in their lower part to form a passage across the front, communicating with the triforium on either side, and just at the string-course which runs under the balcony of this gallery, they are again banded, and then continued until they die into the wall, which shelves gently down towards the string-course over the ground story of the façade. Here we have a dignified double west doorway contained beneath an equilateral arch, the wall space on

[1] There is a Decorated example of this feature in the clerestory on the north side of Exeter Cathedral, and a Perpendicular one, in the form of a square stone gallery called the tribune, at the west end of the north aisle at Winchester. See p. 237.

W[illegible]

CATHEDRAL.

either side of it being relieved by two trefoiled arcades supported on single shafts of great elegance. The central lancet of the triplet above is partly filled with good early sixteenth-century glass, said to have been collected at Rouen and Cologne by Bishop Creyghton, while he was yet dean, during his exile. The remainder of the glass is of later date, but from absence of any authentic information, I am unable to say by whom it was executed.

In the transepts, both of which have aisles on the east and west sides, thereby contributing to that mysterious effect which is one of the chief charms of a pointed building, the arrangement is similar to that in the nave. Here, however, the triforium arcades are arranged in pairs, and separated by the vaulting shafts, which are carried down to the string-course above the pier arches. The carving of the capitals in the nave and transepts exhibits great exuberance of fancy and masterly execution, and in many of them the most ludicrous incidents are told by figures representing, in one instance, on the second pier from the south end of the south transept, the moral of the old adage that "honesty is the best policy." This is expressed in a curious but forcible manner, by a series of groups, showing the pilfering of grapes by a trespasser, the owner's negligent watch, the arrest and the humiliation, and the threatened vengeance.

The great inverted arches inserted about 1340 between the piers of the central crossing at the nave and transepts, were rendered necessary by the enormous pressure of the fourteenth-century tower (completed in 1321) upon the Early English lantern

whose piers were not designed to support such a weight. This piling up of masonry

"Had produced fearful settlements, the effects of which may still be seen in the triforium arches of the nave and transepts next to the tower, which are dragged down and deformed, partly rebuilt, filled up, and otherwise exhibiting the signs so often seen under central towers, of a thorough repair. This framework consists of a low pointed arch, upon which rests an inverted arch of the same form, so as to produce a figure somewhat resembling a St Andrew's Cross, to use the happy phrase applied by Leland to a similar contrivance introduced for a similar reason [but at a later date] into the central tower arches at Glastonbury."[1]

The idea was a happy one, for no other form of buttress equal to it in strength could have been devised with less obtrusive effect, and a similar expedient adopted in time might have saved us Chichester spire. Still, curious as they are, and picturesque as may be the combinations they present when viewed from the north-east angle of the north transept, it is hardly possible to agree with Freeman that it would be tolerable under any circumstances to introduce another of these strange St Andrew's crosses. There was once an old verger, who, in showing this part of the church, used to say, "Wery fine conwerted arches, Sir! Some likes 'em, and some don't." I must confess that I am personally included in the former category, since out of a necessity has been created a feature which has imparted an unique interest to this cathedral.

[1] Professor Willis, at the Meeting of the Somerset Archæological Society at Wells, 9th to 11th September 1863.

But while admitting the engineering merit of the work, I should hardly contemplate an extension of the expedient with equanimity.

With the interpolation of these huge inverted arches, the shafts supporting the Early English ones disappeared, but they still exist at the entrance to the choir in the form of corbelled ones, as were, in all probability, those of the western arch. For, as I have already stated, the choir—that is to say, the stalls for the clergy engaged in reciting the Divine Offices—was under the central tower, and ran a little into the nave, until the eastern limb was lengthened in the fourteenth century. The three Early English bays which had hitherto formed the presbytery, now became the choir, and the newly erected ones a grandly developed presbytery. Subsequently the whole was shut off from the nave by a high close Perpendicular screen which was enlarged in the middle westwards, but certainly not improved, when, half a century ago, the choir was "remodelled."

As soon as the great Decorated tower had been raised upon the low Early English one, the work of lengthening the church eastwards was taken in hand.

This began, at a considerable distance from the old east end of Bishop Reginald with the Lady Chapel, a most graceful structure consisting of one bay and an apse of three sides. The heads of its grand five-light windows are all filled with geometrical tracery in the form of trefoiled triangles arranged pyramidally. It is to Bishop Drokensford (1309-29) and Dean Godley to whom we owe

this " most original and unique piece of architecture," which for a time must have stood alone. Then, between 1329 and 1363, Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury carried on the work so nobly begun. The Early English Lady Chapel and procession path, except the north and south ends of the latter, were pulled down, and the choir prolonged three bays eastward. For two bays beyond the new east end, the aisles were continued to form a double procession path until they reached the already completed Lady Chapel, variety being given to the outline by low transeptal chapels, such as had been introduced at Hereford a little time before. It is impossible to admire sufficiently the skill and dexterity with which all this was accomplished, so different from the clumsy manner in which the German architect at Halberstadt was going to work atmost contemporaneously ; indeed, we cannot but accept this eastern extension at Wells as a masterpiece of design, superior to anything of the sort found elsewhere. Besides this, it had the good fortune to be conceived and carried out at a time when English Gothic was neither in an immature nor a declining phase of its existence, but just as it was at the turning point of its career.

It is possible that the architect of this Late Decorated presbytery of Wells had the square east end of that at Salisbury in mind, for he has closed it eastward by three Pointed arches rising from gracefully clustered shafts. What would correspond here to the triforium is enriched with seven canopied niches between slender coupled pinnacles, all continued down to the apices of

the arches without any break. The same treatment was pursued in the three bays east of the bishop's throne, where the new work commences, and may be taken as one of the earliest instances of a mode of enrichment which, when the use of the triforium had quite died out, became so favourite a one with Perpendicular architects in certain localities.[1]

Above this tabernacle work, the east end is completely filled by a seven-light window, in whose tracery we detect a suspicion of that style which was soon to prevail for the next three centuries. It is filled with stained glass representing the Radix Jesse, and has been styled by a living writer,[2]

"one of the most remarkable in England for simplicity and harmony and richness of colouring, for the force of character in the faces, and the stately figures in flowing mantles of green and ruby and gold, like Arab chiefs; figures such as some artist in the last crusading host under Edward might have seen and designed, and so different from the conventional portraiture of Bible characters."

During a visit to England in 1847, Henri Gerente —the famous French glass painter—paid a visit to Wells. He had not intended stopping there, but among the windows he discovered this Radix Jesse, curious both for its symbolism, and for its being a very fine specimen of Late Middle Pointed glass, a style which he was, of course, led to study, especially

[1] As, for instance, at Bristol, Coventry, and Norwich.

[2] Rev. C. M. Church, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Wells, who has also dwelt upon it in an eloquent sermon preached in the cathedral on SS. Philip and James Day, 1st May 1890.

since he had formed English connections; the leading French style being the earlier one.

Fortunately, a scaffolding happened to be temporarily fixed before this window; Gerente, therefore, instantaneously procured what paper he could in the city, and, falling to work with his own hands, succeeded, after a week's incessant toil, in making a tracing of this valuable window, which was not thrown away. Two years afterwards he was commissioned by Beresford Hope to prepare designs for all the glass in All Saints', Margaret Street, for which Mr Butterfield had already drawn out the plans. The foundation stone of this, the Ecclesiological Society's "Model Church," was laid on All Saints' Day, 1850, but in the interim Gerente had passed away, struck down by the cholera, then raging in Paris.

His design for the great west window was, however, entrusted to his brother Alfred, but, when fixed in the church in 1853—six years before its consecration—it failed to give satisfaction. Perhaps it reproduced too faithfully the faults, if they be faults, of the original which was proposed to him for his guidance. Anyhow, after occupying its place for about seventeen years, this glass, together with nearly all the rest of Gerente's in the church, was removed and replaced, from Mr Butterfield's designs, by the work of Gibbs, which we now see.[1]

The windows of the Lady Chapel, and that at the end of either choir aisle, glow with fourteenth-century stained glass, much of which, although

[1] The only glass by Gerente now in All Saints', Margaret Street, is in the baptistery, and at the east end of the north aisle.

splendid in tincture, is in a very fragmentary condition.

That in the eastern window of the Lady Chapel, restored in Dean Goodenough's time under the direction of Mr Ferrey, has a number of small canopied figures put together by Thomas Willement, one of the first to revive the principles of glass painting; but a re-arrangement is desirable, the blue introduced by that artist being crude, though perhaps the best to be had at the time.

The effect of this old glass at the east end of Wells Cathedral is, however, indisputably gorgeous; and John Mason Neale, who saw it in 1841, before it had passed into the hands of the renovator, dwells upon it in his "Hierologus," or "Church Tour through England and Wales,"[1] in the following enthusiastic terms:

"It is of the finest ruby-red, and when you enter the cathedral at six o'clock on a summer morning, with the sun full on the east window, it seems as though the choir were on fire. The clear, sharp foliage of the Decorated piers in the chapel—the beautiful perspective of the lancets interlacing and intertwining, opening new vistas in every direction, each vista closed with a blaze of rubies—acanthus leaf and channelled shaft steeped in rainbow hues—the fretted roof quivering with bright spots of variegated light! oh, it is not to be forgotten!"

Upon the completion of the presbytery, the severity of Bishop Reginald's Early English choir was felt to be in too strong a contrast to its gorgeousness; so, to bring the two portions into harmony, the triforium

[1] Published by Burns of Portman Street, in 1843.

was veiled in tabernacle work, the lancet windows of the clerestory removed and replaced by Flowing Decorated ones, and a vault of the same reticulated character thrown over it, with the result that the only portions of the original eastern limb now visible inside, are the three first bays on either hand.

The ancient furniture of the choir had no doubt been much interfered with during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but there must have been sufficient remains of the fourteenth-century backs and canopies to the stalls to admit of their being restored, and, where necessary, supplemented. Had an architect of ability been called in, this would have been done. Unfortunately, in 1848, it was determined to "refit" the choir, the work being placed in the hands of Salvin, the denaturaliser of Bishop Cosin's grand old choir at Durham, who was allowed to have full swing.

Except the *misereres*—"with whose quaint carvings visitors will continue to be amused," so said the *Gentleman's Magazine*—every vestige of old woodwork, mediæval or Renaissance, was ruthlessly cast out. Even the grand old seventeenth-century organ-case was not spared. Stone backs and laboured canopies, supported on shafts of polished Purbeck marble, were forced on to the *misereres*, which, in order to afford more room for the promiscuous crowd of a Sunday congregation, were arranged "piecemeal between the pillars, so lessening their numbers that, if the whole Chapter were ever to assemble, some less lucky dignitaries must sit on the laps of others." The choir in its present state was re-opened on the occasion of the funeral of

Dean Jenkyns (14th March 1854). The Dean had been a munificent contributor to a work which, it is deeply to be regretted, was not delayed, so that the choir of Wells might not have been, as in its present condition it must continue to be, "a reproach and a proverb among the minsters of England," instead of holding its place among its fellows at Chester, Ely, Exeter, Hereford, and Winchester. In all these instances the choir has been opened out to the nave, but the old work or the old arrangements have been carefully preserved as far as possible.

The present organ was built between 1848 and 1851 by the late Henry Willis. Its predecessor, of which little or nothing was preserved, had been built shortly after the Restoration, mainly through the instrumentality of Bishop Creyghton, who, like Cosin at Durham and Hacket at Lichfield, was zealous in his efforts to bring back to his cathedral some of the splendour of which it had been deprived during the Civil Wars. Among the *instrumenta* with which he endowed his cathedral was the massive coped lectern now standing in the nave. This "brazen deske with God's holy Word thereon," was presented by Creyghton on "his returne from fifteen years' exile with our Sovereign Lord, King Charles."

The Bishop's son, Rev. Robert Creyghton, who became Canon and Precentor of Wells in 1674 and died in 1733, was the composer of numerous services and anthems which are still greatly admired by lovers of the Caroline and earlier Georgian epochs of church music, and retain their places in the weekly lists of our cathedrals, notably his service

in E flat and his anthems, "I will arise,"[1] "Behold, now praise the Lord," and "Praise the Lord, O my soul." The last-named is especially characteristic of the composer, and, like the other two, is written in the key inseparably associated with his name.

James Turle, organist of Westminster Abbey from 1831 to 1875, was a chorister of Wells when the last century was in its teens.

"In his later years," says the writer of his obituary notice in the *Musical Times* of 1882, "Turle would now and then recall his experience of the ways and manners of cathedral services at that time, for the astonishment of those who listened."

"The nave of Wells Cathedral, it would appear, was in those days the recognised playground of the singing boys, and there they were wont to indulge a juvenile passion for stone-throwing and such like potentialities of mischief. If anybody then cared about stained glass windows—which is doubtful—he trembled for the storied panes of Wells while the urchins of the choir pursued their gambols. Young Turle distinguished himself as a stone-thrower by sending a missile through St Andrew's nose, and the fact is said to have been remembered long after by a verger who, pointing out the damage, remarked: 'That was done by the present organist of Westminster Abbey.' Another playful habit of the Wells choir boys was to rush from their places during the reading of the lessons, in order to watch the action of the celebrated clock in the north

[1] "What words, however eloquent from a preacher, can convey the intense humility and sorrowing repentance in which the prodigal returns to his home, as Creyghton's touching little anthem, 'I will arise.'"—Rev. Thomas Helmore.

transept, which every hour sets in motion some mechanical figures.

"The ingenious Glastonbury monk who is said to have fabricated the article in question, scarcely anticipated the effect of his skill upon these 'children of the altar.'"

Turle's master was Dodd Perkins, organist from 1781 to 1819. His son and successor, William Perkins (d. 1860), was the composer of a Double Chant in E natural, traditionally known at Wells as "Malibran's Chant," from the circumstance of that great singer joining in it at Wells Cathedral, 22nd August 1830.

The Chapter-house at Wells is one of those graceful polygonal structures which, with that of Lincoln as the prototype, was a purely English invention of the thirteenth century, neither France nor Germany presenting a parallel instance at any period.

In every case where the church was conventual, or one served by regular clergy, and even in most cases where it was cathedral and served by seculars, the Chapter-house was more frequently placed on the south side than the north. The exceptions to this arrangement, as applied to cathedral churches, are Lichfield, York, and Wells. The Chapter-house in all these buildings is approached directly from the cathedral itself; that is to say, not through cloisters, but through certain *trisantiæ* or vestibules. At Wells, the Chapter-house being raised upon a crypt — originally intended as the treasury and sacristy—is approached from the eastern aisle of the north transept by a staircase. In Perpendicular times this staircase was continued on until it joined

the "Chain Gate," connecting the cathedral with that Vicars' College which forms so delightful an item in the external group of buildings. The upper part of the window which, until the erection of the gate, closed this passage to the north, still remains over the interpolated Perpendicular doorway admitting to the gallery.

Begun in 1290, and finished in 1302, this Chapter-house at Wells forms, by its geometrical Decorated style, an admirable link between the less developed Middle Pointed of the passage leading to it, and the fully developed work of Drokensford and Ralph of Shrewsbury in the Lady Chapel and presbytery. In point of date, it is the last but one of that magnificent series of polygonal houses, the others being Lincoln, Salisbury, Westminster, Lichfield, Southwell, and York. In plan it is an octagon, with a grand four-light window geometrically traceried on each side. That on the western side is cut off about half-way by the entrance which opens directly without any doors through two graceful entrances — an outer and an inner one, with a considerable space formed by the thickness of the wall between them — each formed of a pair of cinque-foiled arches surmounted by a large unglazed spherical figure of six cuspings. In lieu of jamb shafts, each window has two rows of the ball-flower ornament running completely round it—an early and most interesting example of this form of ornament, which, it is needless to say, imparts an appearance of extraordinary richness to the whole work.

It is likewise introduced below the string-courses

of the windows, and is even carried down the sides of the eight compartments below them until it mingles with their arcading, which is composed of seven cinque-foiled arches, supported on slender attached shafts of blue lias, and surmounted by straight-sided canopies rich in crockets and finials. In each instance the superimposed space between the arcade and the gable is relieved by a trefoil, and there is a small pinnacle reaching to the ball-flower string above, between each arcade. This Chapter-house at Wells has been styled "a glorious development of window and vault," for, from a noble central pillar composed of a core, round which twelve slender ones cluster, mingling their delicately chiselled capitals in one exquisite mass of foliage, the ribs of its palm-tree-like vault rise to meet others which start from shafts, of which there is a cluster of five in each angle of the octagon. One great desideratum of this noble house, wherein the clergy of Wells seem to have been actuated by a desire to exceed in richness all previously erected ones, is painted glass. Some fine fragments of the original glazing still exists in the tracery, and this would naturally strike the keynote for the rest which might very appropriately take the form of a series of subjects representing the history of the cathedral and See.

It may appear strange that a cathedral like Wells, to which no religious establishment was attached, should possess cloisters of such magnitude, but they originated in the time of the Lothringian Bishop Giso (1060-80), who effected great changes in the mode of living of the canons, building such appen-

dages as forced them to live in common—a semi-monastic discipline which, however, was put an end to by his immediate successor, John de Villula. The cloisters would then seem to have been retained as an ornamental convenience, an *objet de luxe*, for they were reconstructed during the rebuilding of the Norman cathedral under Reginald, traces having been discovered of the work of this period (c. 1185) in the eastern walk. Bishop Joceline continued the cloisters, but all that remains to us of his time is the graceful cinque-foiled doorway at the south end of the eastern walk communicating with the moated palace, bulwarked by its circlet of battlements, walls, and towers. Here dwelt holy Bishop Ken, who

> "Dared with royal power to cope,
> In peaceful faith resisting;
> A braver Becket—who could hope
> To conquer unresisting,"

and here Kidder, who was found willing to take the place from which the saintly author of the Morning and Evening Hymns[1] was ejected, met his death by the falling upon him of a stack of chimneys during the memorable Great Storm of 1703.

[1] "Awake, my Soul," and "Glory to Thee, my God, this night," written for the use of the Winchester scholars, and, though composed many years before, added to the edition, published in 1697, of his "Manual of Prayers for the Scholars of Winchester College." He was one of the seven bishops committed to the Tower in 1688 for refusing to read the second Declaration of Indulgence put forth by James II., and as a Nonjuror was deprived of his See under William III. in 1691. Until his death, 19th March 1711, Ken lived in retirement at Longleat with an income of only £20 a year, and was buried a sunrise under the east window of St John's Church, Frome

The almost entire reconstruction and enlargement of these cloisters was undertaken early in the fifteenth century by the executors of Bishop Bubwith, and steadily pursued under Beckington and Stillington down to the end of it. Some idea of their size may be gained when it is stated that their eastern and western ambulatories abut on the south transept and south-west tower respectively. As at Chichester there is no northern walk, though it occurs in the other old Foundation Cathedral cloisters at Lincoln and Salisbury, and formerly at Exeter and old St Paul's. At Wells, the long rows of tall, six-light windows, giving on to the quadrangle, are of a good Somersetshire type of Perpendicular, not particularly remarkable, and from their regularity somewhat monotonous after the varied ones of Norwich and Westminster. The vaulting abounds in bosses of varied and grotesque design, in the deciphering of which many hours may be spent.

Rooms over the eastern and western walks are appropriated to the Cathedral Library and to the Singing and Chapter Grammar Schools. The grass plot within the quadrangle is traditionally known as the Palm Churchyard, from the yew tree in its

Selwood, a grating of iron bars, bent into the form of a herse, across which an iron mitre and pastoral staff were laid, being placed over his grave :

"A basket work where bars are bent—
Iron in place of ozier ;
And shapes above that represent
A mitre and a crozier."

About half a century ago a stone canopy was erected over the tomb from the designs of Mr Benjamin Ferrey.

centre, the branches of which, in pre-Reformation times, were carried in procession, in default of the genuine ones, on the Sunday before Easter.

On a fine morning there is nothing more delightful than to linger in this "Palm Churchyard" at Wells, to watch the jackdaws darting in and out of crevices in the grey towers, whose gilded vanes glisten in the sunshine, and to listen to the voices of the choristers at their daily practice in the charming old fifteenth-century singing school overhead.

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